‘News from the Republick of Letters’

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‘News from the Republick of Letters’

Scottish Students, Charles Mackie and the United Provinces, 1650–1750

By
Esther Mijers

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Voor Pienie, in dierbare herinnering

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The United Provinces, c. 1700.

INTRODUCTION

On the second of January 1733, following his arrival at the University of Groningen, the Scottish student Robert Duncan (1699–1729) wrote to Charles Mackie (1688–1770), Professor of History at the University of Edinburgh: 'As for news from the Republick of letters you cannot expect much from me yet'. Duncan needed time to settle into the University, a recent favorite of Scottish students, but soon the letters began flooding in with details of the latest publications, ideas and learned discussions, and information and gossip about fellow students and professors at Groningen and elsewhere in the United Provinces. Duncan's letters were among the vast number written by Scottish students attending Dutch universities in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. That Scots in the later early modern period were educated in large numbers in the United Provinces is well-known to scholars of Scotland's intellectual and educational history. The Dutch universities had a reputation for excellence and Protestant yet relatively latitudinarian views, which appealed to Scottish students who wanted to continue their education abroad for a variety of reasons. While studying on the Continent had been part of the academic pilgrimage since medieval times, by the middle of the seventeenth century the popularity of the Dutch universities had taken off exponentially, instigating a century of virtual monopoly of the United Provinces on the further education of young Scottish men of aristocratic, professional and merchant backgrounds. Although certainly not the only European universities frequented by Scots, they became the starting point for their academic overseas education, often followed by a Grand Tour, and the universities where Scots would spend most of their time. For these students, the United Provinces became the center of the world of learning, or the 'Republic of Letters', as well as the gateway to Europe, although the latter was not a new continent, intellectually or otherwise.

Before we come to the story of Scottish students in the United Provinces, the wider historical context needs to be addressed. Scotland, like most poor areas in Europe, had a long tradition of looking abroad for employment and improvement. From the Middle Ages onwards, trade with Europe or, closer to home, with England and Ireland,

provided opportunities for the inhabitants of this poor but enterprising nation. Although England and especially Ireland were favorite destinations for Scottish migrants throughout the early modern period, many more left for the Continent which provided economic, intellectual and religious alternatives to England. T. C. Smout has estimated that during the period 1600–1650, migration accounted for the loss of 85,000–115,000 Scots, mainly to Scandinavia, Poland and Ulster. In the next fifty years, he estimates these numbers to have been somewhere between 78,000 and 127,000, but after 1700 the numbers dropped to some 90,000.[1] These figures and destinations have been recently put into question in a new overview of Scotland's migrant destinations during the period 1500–1700;[2] still, it remains undisputed that, while Scotland's migration conformed to wider European patterns, her 'level of out-migration [was] much higher than for the rest of north-west Europe.'[3] Although small, with a population of 1–1.2 million in the seventeenth century, Scotland was a particularly outward-looking place, characterized by a 'culture of migration'.[4] During the Middle Ages and the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the entire North Sea region, including Scandinavia, the Baltic and Poland, were popular destinations for Scottish migrants motivated by military, economic, religious and educational considerations. Many also went south to Flanders, France, Spain and Italy. They served both Catholics and Protestants and could be found in the armies of central Europe, on ships and ashore in the western ports of France and the Low Countries, trading in Scandinavia, the Baltic and Poland and teaching at universities and Scots colleges throughout Europe. Scottish migrants divided into permanent and temporary settlers and both groups ensured that

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[1] T. C. Smout, N. C. Landsman, & T. M. Devine, 'Scottish Emigration in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in: N. Canny (ed.), *Europeans on the Move. Studies on European Migration 1500–1800* (Oxford, 1994), 76–112. The numbers for the final period are split between Lowland and Highland Scots. Here I have combined them.

[2] The figures for Poland in particular have been adjusted downwards. Steve Murdoch & Esther Mijers, 'Migrant Destinations, 1500–1700', in: T. M. Devine & Jenny Wormald (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History* (Oxford, 2011), 335–6.

[3] Thomas O'Connor, Sølvi Sogner & Lex Heerma van Voss, 'Scottish Communities Abroad: Some Concluding Remarks', in: Alexia Grosjean & Steve Murdoch (eds), *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden & Boston, 2005), 381.

[4] T. C. Smout, 'The Culture of Migration: Scots as Europeans 1500–1800', *History Workshop Journal*, xl (1995), 10–17.

Scotland had extended and extensive mercantile, social and intellectual networks across the Continent throughout the early modern period.[5] As a result, it was very much part of a wider European world, both culturally and economically. Indeed, early modern Scotland's outlook was more international than her size and economy would suggest.

Out of those wider European connections, a special relationship developed between Scotland and the United Provinces over the course of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the British Isles, the Reformation and the ensuing Wars of Religion ended with the Scots becoming Calvinists in a Presbyterian Church while the English Church changed less radically and remained Episcopal. On the Continent, parts of the Catholic south and center were becoming closed off due to warfare and the Counter-reformation. For many Scots, these developments added to the appeal of northern Europe, especially the United Provinces where there existed institutions most like those in Scotland. The two countries already had long-standing trade links and now religion strengthened those ties.

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, this renewed Scottish-Dutch relationship was formalized by the founding of three Dutch-based Scottish institutions, which maintained close connections with the mother country. These were the Scottish merchants' Staple in Veere (Campveere) in Zeeland, the Scottish Church in Rotterdam in Holland and the Scots Brigade, a military unit of one or more regiments which was usually stationed along the southern Dutch borders. These bodies provided an institutional underpinning for the Scottish-Dutch relationship as it progressed through the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and ensured the existence of the infrastructure necessary for a lively exchange in goods, people and ideas. These formal links, combined with their geographic proximity, made Scotland's relations with the United Provinces different from those it upheld with many other countries on the Continent. It ensured that Scots could easily travel back and forth across the North Sea, and as a result the growing Scottish community in the Dutch provinces was less integrated and more focused on Scotland than those in other communities where Scottish migrants tended to move and settle. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the Scottish community in the United

[5] See for instance Steve Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe 1603–1746* (Leiden, 2005).

Provinces was diverse and extensive, consisting of a small core of economic migrants supplemented with passers-by and visitors; Scottish students were among the latter.

By now the United Provinces had not only become attractive as an alternative to other places within easy reach and with ready-made infrastructures, they had also become a hub of intellectual activity. The country was a marvel of exotic wealth and, compared to the rest of Europe at least, political and religious freedom, while adhering to its admirable Protestant past and beliefs. Visitors from all nations, Scots included, praised the country for offering much to see and do in a small geographic area.[6] Having only recently emerged as a new state following their revolt against their Spanish overlord (1568–1648), the Dutch provinces were not formally recognized by the Catholic and some parts of Lutheran Europe until the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. Nevertheless, they had experienced an economic boom based on the Scandinavian and Baltic timber trades, the profitable fishing industry and the import-export functions which were the result of the country's geographic location at the mouth of the Rhine and other rivers. Intellectually and artistically, they benefited from this economic prosperity both from their mercantile activities overseas and from their unique political situation. The country was highly urbanized with a literate and well-educated population. In the absence of a royal court and a landed nobility, civic urban culture developed and throve. Regents, merchants, artisans and professionals, guilds and local militias, as well as the towns and cities themselves acted as patrons of the arts and sciences. Their riches were famously captured in the paintings they commissioned of themselves and their families. As a result of the Dutch overseas trading empire, exotic plants and animals began to make their appearance in the cabinets of curiosities of the rich Dutch patricians and merchants, feeding the public's imagination and interest

[6] For example, the English clergyman Thomas Fuller (1607/8–1661) wrote: 'If thou wilt see much in a little, travell the Low countreys. United Provinces is all Europe in an Amsterdam-print, for Minerva, Mars, and Mercurie, Learning, Warre, and Traffick.' Thomas Fuller, *The Holy State* (Cambridge, 1642). Cf. *A Description of the United Provinces: or, the Present State of the United Provinces. Wherein is Contained, a Particular Account of the Hague, and all the Principal Cities and Towns of the Republick, with their Buildings, Curiosities, &c. Of the Manner and Customs of the Dutch; their Constitution, Legislature, Sovereign Courts, Ministry, Revenue, Forces by Sea and Land, Navy, Admiralty, Bank, East-India Company, Navigation, Commerce, in Asia, Africa, and America; and with Great-Britain, France, Spain, and the Other States of Europe. Their Universities, Arts, Sciences, Men of Letters, &c. To which are Added, Directions for Making the Tour of the Provinces* (London, 1743).

in science. Anatomical dissections and scientific experiments became civic spectacles as well as academic pursuits, while the Dutch love of art and science was captured in such paintings as *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr Tulp* by Rembrandt and Vermeer's *Geographer*.

Scottish students favored the United Provinces as a center of Protestant learning, admiring the struggles of its Reformation. At the same time, the country and its universities were also admired for its cosmopolitanism. The Dutch universities were among the most modern and successful on the Continent and attracted some of the best scholars and scientists of the time. The Dutch humanist tradition, in which the classics and the oriental languages, textual criticism and history were all deemed essential tools to scholarship, was held in high regard throughout Europe. It was in these fields that the Dutch made some of their most important contributions. For several generations, famous classical scholars, continuing the tradition of Joseph Scaliger (1484–1550) and Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), attracted students from around Europe. In divinity, orthodox Protestantism, as set out by the Synod of Dordt and by strict divines such as Franciscus Gomarus (1563–1641) and Gijsbert Voetius (1589–1676), dominated seventeenth century Dutch Calvinism. At the same time, latitudinarianism and a degree of Erastianism were everywhere present, especially in the province of Holland. In law, the tolerant and rational writings of Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) and the members of the Dutch Elegant School prevailed. In philosophy and medicine, Cartesianism, and later Newtonianism, introduced new theories, experimental methods and mathematics, and paved the way for the work of some of the most famous scientists and medical men of the early modern period such as Anthonie van Leeuwenhoek (1632–1723) and Herman Boerhaave (1688–1738). Outside the universities, scientists, map and globe makers, merchants, seamen and other professionals and amateurs were active as educators and authors of textbooks and manuals used by many outside the country, and often responsible for scientific and technological discoveries. Aside from its own achievements, the country also served as a port of transit for scholarship and cultural achievements from around the globe, making the United Provinces the 'intellectual entrepôt of Europe'.[7] Its book industry flourished and the Dutch

[7] G. C. Gibbs, 'The Role of the Dutch Republic as the Intellectual Entrepôt of Europe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen Betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 3 (1986), 323–349.

printers, publishers and booksellers served an extensive international market. The Dutch universities attracted large numbers of students, professors and visitors from abroad and their scientific innovations and discoveries were discussed by scholars and scientists from all over Europe. Dutch instruments and techniques were found in laboratories, observatories, scientific theaters and botanical gardens everywhere and Dutch textbooks, manuals and editions were considered the best in the world. Although the United Provinces lacked a national academy such as could be found in London or Paris, the universities, in particular the University of Leiden, and the publishing houses more than made up for this.

The importance of the United Provinces in the early modern period as a cultural and educational crossroads is undisputed and well-recognized.[8] Both politically and geographically, their position in Europe was unique. Their relative freedom and lack of censorship enabled them to regulate and institutionalize exchanges of ideas, books and people throughout most of the early modern period and their vast trading connections served the 'commerce of letters', as the intellectual exchange and correspondence of the Republic of Letters was sometimes called. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the Dutch provinces were the center of the world of learning, the European Republic of Letters, and acted as the hub for its communications. As far as Scotland was concerned, the North Sea acted as a bridge rather

[8] For the different aspects of the United Provinces as an intellectual and scholarly entrepôt, see for example C. Berkvens-Stevelinck *et al.* (eds) *Le Magasin de l'Univers. The Dutch Republic as the Centre of the European Book Trade* (Leiden, 1992); Peter de Clercq, *The Leiden Cabinet of Physics: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Leiden, 1997); Harold J. Cook, 'The Cutting Edge of a Revolution? Medicine and Natural History near the Shores of the North Sea', in: J. V. Field & Frank A. J. L. James (eds), *Renaissance and Revolution: Humanists, Scholars, Craftsmen and Natural Philosophers in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1997), 45–63; *Idem, Matters of Exchange: Commerce, Medicine, and Science in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven & London, 2007); Karel Davids & Jan Lucassen (eds), *A Miracle Mirrored: The Dutch Republic in European Perspective* (Cambridge, 2010); David W. Davies, *The World of the Elseviers 1580–1712* (The Hague, 1954); Marian Fournier, *Early Microscopes A Descriptive Catalogue* (Leiden, 2003); Rupp, Jan C. C., 'Matters of Life and Death: The Social and Cultural Conditions of the Rise of Anatomical Theatres, with Special Reference to Seventeenth Century Holland', *History of Science*, (1990), 263–287; Edward G. Ruestow, *Physics at Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Leiden: Philosophy and the New Science in the University* (The Hague, 1973); *Idem, The Microscope in the Dutch Republic: The Shaping of Discovery* (Cambridge, new edition: 2004).

than a boundary for taking advantage of this situation and a lively exchange of people as well as of goods, most notably books, and ideas developed. Scots studied at the Dutch universities but also visited important sites, met famous residents and developed contacts with fellow students, professors and learned and important men inside and outside the United Provinces. Often their Dutch stay was the start of further travel. They also bought books and other goods and imported these back to Scotland. The United Provinces thus exposed them to the European Republic of Letters, even if their own participation in it was limited. Over time, Scotland itself also became part of the Republic of Letters' geographic sphere; the result of its close migratory and institutional connections with the United Provinces. With their vast European networks, early modern Scots had less need for the cultural resources of the English and, until the middle of the eighteenth century, they did not look to London except in regard to politics. Their continental links had given them access to European culture since medieval times and they continued to draw on these links even when their educational and intellectual attentions became increasingly focused on the United Provinces.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century the development of more secular and professional interests changed Scottish motivation for seeking a Dutch education. Ever since the Reformation, Scottish students had sought out the Dutch universities as welcoming, Protestant institutions which provided further education and specialization in particular areas or subjects, as compared with the Scottish universities that offered little in the way of specialized chairs. Lawyers, medics and theologians went abroad to study aspects of their disciplines either to deepen their knowledge and round off their degree or because these opportunities were not offered at home. Now Scottish students began to seek a broader polite education as the expectations and demands of Scottish education changed. Calls for civic education and professional training originally dated back to the Reformation. The Scottish Calvinist tradition had a longstanding concern with education. In addition, the growing bureaucracy—as was the case in most of Europe—led to an increasing demand for well-educated professionals and magistrates in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Universities and other educational institutions were expected to fill these needs. Such calls grew louder in the wake of the Williamite Revolution and the Anglo-Scottish

Union, which further strengthened the Scottish-Dutch relationship.[9] This change allowed Scottish students to become more active players in the Republic of Letters, which itself was also undergoing a change of direction. Already during the Restoration period (1660–1688), a handful of Scottish *virtuoso* scholars had engaged in the scientific and scholarly changes taking place abroad.[10] In 1674, a Professor of Mathematics was appointed at Edinburgh and during the Exclusion Crisis (1679–1681), Scottish academic life flourished when the Duke of York resided in Scotland. Under his patronage three medical chairs were established, and there were attempts to found chairs in law and history. In Glasgow as well, efforts were made to establish a specialized teaching system in 1681 and 1695.[11] Outside the universities, the Royal College of Physicians, the Physic Garden, and the Advocates' Library were founded with the Duke of York's support in response to plans by Scotland's intellectual community.[12] These initiatives, however, were tainted by Episcopalianism.

After the Williamite Revolution, the members of the re-established Church of Scotland took over. The experience of several generations of Dutch-educated Scots, combined with the developments of the 1680s, had shown how to improve Scottish intellectual life. As a result, an increasing number of Scots chose to study at the Dutch universities with the aim of obtaining a broad and polite education, while at home the process began of reforming the universities into civic institutions, benefiting both church and state. A broader group of scholars than the

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[9] Cf. Willem Frijhoff's point that in the eighteenth century the university degree lost its 'qualificatory' character, vouching instead for membership of an intellectual milieu rather than for a specific kind of knowledge. Willem Frijhoff, 'Graduation and Careers', in: Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe: Volume 2, Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)* (Cambridge, 2003), 355–415, 414.

[10] See for instance R. L. Emerson, 'Sir Robert Sibbald, Kt., The Royal Society of Scotland and the Origins of the Scottish Enlightenment', *Annals of Science*, 45 (1988), 41–72.

[11] C. M. King, 'Philosophy and Science in the Arts Curriculum of the Scottish Universities in the Seventeenth Century' (University of Edinburgh, PhD thesis, 1974), 18–20. *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis. Records of the University of Glasgow from its Foundation till 1727* (3 vols, Glasgow, 1854), ii. 492. NAS, Visitation Papers Glasgow, PA10/5/48. *Evidence Oral and Documentary*, ii: *University of Glasgow*, 269.

[12] Hugh Ouston, 'York in Edinburgh: James VII and the Patronage of Learning in Scotland, 1679–1688', in John Dwyer, R. A. Mason, and Alexander Murdoch (eds), *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1982) 33–155, 133.

earlier virtuosi, with interests beyond philosophy, law and medicine, began to take part. Along with scientific interests, historical and antiquarian concerns such as numismatics, chronology and archaeology became integral to the effort of making Scotland and the Scots polite. At the universities, history had previously been offered as church history; now it became a discipline in its own right and courses in both Roman and universal history were introduced. Scottish students in the United Provinces were the personification of some of these aspirations. They brought home a range of experiences, ideas and books and became the bridge between Scotland and the European Republic of Letters.

This book is the first full-length study of Scottish students in the United Provinces between 1650 and 1750. While often referred to in accounts of Scottish migration and diaspora as well as the early Scottish Enlightenment, much of the detail of these students' lives abroad is still unclear or incorrect while at the same time a number of aspects of their experiences have been given only marginal significance. Although the impact of their education is known to a large extent, we lack an adequate analysis of both their numbers and of the educational and wider academic facilities available to them in the United Provinces. Secondly, we need a contemporary context and framework within which these students and their Dutch experiences can be assessed both as temporary migrants and as conduits for intellectual and educational exchange themselves. Thirdly, the broader impact of the exchanges between Scotland and the United Provinces needs to be further assessed. Here the mainly one-sided (commercial, religious, military, 'political', cultural, educational and intellectual) connections that existed between Scotland and the United Provinces are mapped out and clarified, paying particular attention to the high point in the Scottish student presence at the Dutch universities in the period 1680–1730 as well as to what they learned, saw and read. The wider context and framework of analysis is provided by the Republic of Letters and its adherence to the exchange of knowledge which the Scots came to share, even if it was often just between them and the Dutch. The experiences of Scottish students in the United Provinces and their engagement with this Dutch world of learning are addressed and assessed against this background.

This study's central question relates to the relationship between Scotland and the United Provinces in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It argues that the longstanding Scottish-Dutch

relationship provided the infrastructure which allowed Scotland to take part in the Republic of Letters, and that its culture was increasingly characterized by it. It was a particular type of Scot who made this possible: the Scottish students discussed here came from the ranks of the nobility, professional men and merchants. Their immediate concerns lay with improvement and politeness. To Scotland and the Scots, the United Provinces were among a number of continental migrant destinations. Their importance lay in what they offered in terms of learned institutions such as universities and publishing houses, and in their role as a conduit for European learning and knowledge. By the late seventeenth century, these Scots were not just visiting the Dutch Republic of the Seven United Provinces, as the country was officially called, but specifically the European Republic of Letters. It was a very one-sided relationship. Scottish students were largely consumers of what both Republics had to offer although some participated more actively. Their Dutch experiences and contacts contributed to the modernization of Scottish education, attitudes and the origins and sustaining of the very early Scottish Enlightenment.

The story of Scottish students in the United Provinces and the Republic of Letters is exemplified by the career of Charles Mackie, the first Professor of Universal History at the University of Edinburgh and the main protagonist of this book. This is not a biographical study; rather, he serves to illustrate the Scottish students' connection to the Republic of Letters via the United Provinces and the impact of this connection on Scottish university education and scholarship. Charles Mackie was a member of Edinburgh's professional and mercantile class. He was brought up in the household of his uncle William Carstares (1649–1715) and had another uncle, John Mackie (d. 1723), who was a bookseller in Edinburgh. He studied in the United Provinces as a student and as tutor to a young Scottish aristocrat. As the first Professor of Universal History at the University of Edinburgh, he was part of the drive towards changing and improving Scottish academic life and learning. He was tied into the Republic of Letters through his contacts and his scholarly interests. He acted as an adviser to a great number of Scottish students in the United Provinces and was an agent and importer of books. As a historian, Mackie was fascinated with the reliability of sources, chronology, keeping up to date with the latest learned discussions and developments, and the ideals of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century Republic of Letters. He made a substantial contribution to changing his discipline, having it

incorporated as an essential part into the improved curriculum, and he taught many of the future Scottish Enlightenment men, most famously William Robertson (1721–1793). But the Dutch model of history education that he followed belonged more to the humanist traditions of the seventeenth century, such as the one he had known as a student in the United Provinces, than to the Enlightenment history which was to succeed him. An analysis of his papers shows his concerns as being typical of the Republic of Letters; at the same time it shows the limits of his own intellectual potential and that of the Republic of Letters, which the Scots experienced in the United Provinces. More generally, it shows the end of the Dutch connection. Scottish thought reoriented itself towards France and England in the 1740s and 1750s, a development which men such as Mackie only partially accepted. The next generation would rely much less on the Dutch as an example, or on the humanist ideals and ideas of the Republic of Letters.

Historiography

The story of Scotland, the United Provinces and the Republic of Letters straddles several historiographic traditions. While much work has been done in both, there remains a noticeable divide between Scottish migration or diaspora studies—an area of great interest and change over the past decade or so—and the much older scholarship on the Republic of Letters on the one hand and on the Scottish Enlightenment on the other.

Relations between Scotland and the United Provinces throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have received widespread attention in the past decades, culminating in Grant G. Simpson's *Scotland and the Low Countries 1124–1994* and the conference 'Scotland, the United Provinces and the Atlantic', which was held at the University of Utrecht in the summer of 1998.[13] A number of different aspects of the Scottish-Dutch exchange have been described: Keith Sprunger and Georgina Gardner have examined some of the religious dimensions, concentrating on strict Presbyterianism and the exiles of the Restoration

[13] Grant G. Simpson (ed.), *Scotland and the Low Countries 1124–1994* (East Linton, 1996).

period.[14] More recently, Mark Jardine has uncovered the Cameronian connection.[15] Hugh Dunthorne and Jochem Miggelbrink have worked on the military link between the two countries, offering a continuation of Ferguson's *Papers Illustrating the History of the Scots Brigade*, while Scottish navy personnel in Dutch service have been considered in a British framework by Andrew Little.[16] T. C. Smout and Charles Wilson have written on trade between Scotland and the United Provinces, and much older literature exists on the Scottish Staple in Veere.[17] More recently, Douglas Catterall has analyzed the Scottish merchant community in Rotterdam.[18] Julia Lloyd Williams' catalogue *Dutch Art and Scotland*, which accompanied the exhibition in the National Galleries of Scotland by the same name, has discussed the Scottish taste for

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[14] Keith L. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism. A History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden, 1982), Ginny Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community in the United Provinces, 1660–1690* (East Linton, 2003).

[15] Mark Jardine, 'The United Societies: Militancy, Martyrdom and the Presbyterian movement in Late-Restoration Scotland 1679–1688' (University of Edinburgh, PhD thesis, 2009).

[16] James Ferguson (ed.) *Papers Illustrating the History of the Scots Brigade in the Service of the United Netherlands*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1899); Hugh Dunthorne, 'Scots in the Wars of the Low Countries, 1572–1648', in: Simpson, *Scotland and the Low Countries*; 104–122; Jochem Miggelbrink, 'Serving the Republic: Scottish Soldiers in the Dutch Republic 1572–1782' (European University Institute, Florence, PhD thesis, 2004); A. R. Little, 'British Personnel in the Dutch Navy, 1642–1697' (University of Exeter, PhD thesis, 2008).

[17] T. C. Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of the Union 1660–1707* (Edinburgh, 1963); Charles Wilson, *The Dutch Republic and the Civilization of the Seventeenth Century World* (London, 1986), Ch. 10; John Davidson & Alexander Gray, *The Scottish Staple at Veere. A Study in the Economic History of Scotland* (London etc., 1909); M. P. Rooseboom, *The Scottish Staple in The United Provinces. An Account of the Trade Relations Between Scotland and the Low Countries from 1292 till 1676* (The Hague, 1910); J. W. Perrels, 'Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van den Schotschen Stapel te Vere', *Archief Vroegere en Latere Mededeelingen Voornamelijk in Betrekking tot Zeeland* [Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen] (Middelburg, 1903), 73–141; (1905), 91–172; J. L. van Dalen, 'Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van den Schotschen Stapel te Dordrecht 1668–1975', *Archief Vroegere en Latere Mededeelingen Voornamelijk in Betrekking tot Zeeland* [Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen] (Middelburg, 1905), 91–172; V. Enthoven, 'The Last Straw. Trade Contacts along the North Sea Coast: The Scottish Staple at Veere', in: Juliette Roding & Lex Heerma van Voss (eds), *The North Sea and Culture (1550–1800)* (Hilversum, 1996), 209–222; Rab Houston, 'Private Vices, Public Acrimony: The Divorce of William Gordon and the Renewal of the Scots Staple in the Netherlands in the 1690s', *Northern Scotland*, 16 (1996), 55–72.

[18] Douglas Catterall, *Community Without Borders: Scots Migrants and the Changing Face of Power in the Dutch Republic, C. 1600–1700* (Leiden etc., 2002).

Dutch art.[19] C. D. Van Strien has provided a number of valuable works on British, though not specifically Scottish, travelers and tourists.[20] The Scottish students' early Grand Tour has been minimally addressed in two articles by Duncan Thomson and Margaret F. Moore.[21] Scottish students at the Dutch universities have received a great deal of attention in the articles on law students by Robert Feenstra and John Cairns, and in the publications on Herman Boerhaave and his medical students.[22] Individual accounts of students, such as Sir John Clerk of Penicuick, Adam Murray, and the Hope family, have also been published, although the research has been skewed by concentrating on the University of Leiden and on the subjects of law and medicine.[23]

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[19] Julia Lloyd Williams, *Dutch Art and Scotland. A Reflection of Taste* (Edinburgh, 1992).

[20] C. D. van Strien, *British Travellers in United Provinces during the Stuart Period. Edward Browne and John Locke in the United Provinces* (Leiden, 1993); *Idem*, *De Ontdekking van de Nederlanden. Britse en Franse Reizigers in United Provinces en Vlaanderen, 1750–1795* (Utrecht, 2001).

[21] Margaret F. Moore, 'The Education of a Scottish Nobleman's Sons in the Seventeenth Century', *Scottish Historical Review*, XXXI (1952), 1–15 and 101–115; Duncan Thomson & Margaret F. Moore, *A Virtuous & Noble Education* (Edinburgh, 1971).

[22] Robert Feenstra, 'Scottish-Dutch Legal Relations in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in: T. C. Smout (ed.), *Scotland and Europe 1200–1850* (Edinburgh, 1986), 128–142; John W. Cairns, 'Importing Our Lawyers from Holland: Netherlands' Influences on Scots Law and Lawyers in the Eighteenth Century', in: Simpson, *Scotland and the Low Countries*, 136–153; *Idem*, 'Three Unnoticed Scottish Editions of Pieter Burman's *Antiquitatum Romanarum Brevis Descriptio*', *The Bibliotheck*, 22 (1997), 20–33; *Idem*, 'Alexander Cunningham's Proposed Edition of the Digest: An Episode in the History of the Dutch Elegant School of Roman Law', *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis*, 69 (2001), 81–117, 307–59; G. A. Lindeboom, *Herman Boerhaave: the Man and his Work* (London, 1968); *Idem*, *Boerhaave and Great Britain* (Leiden 1974); E. Ashworth Underwood, *Boerhaave's Men at Leiden and After* (Edinburgh, 1977); Helen M. Dingwall, *Physicians, Surgeons and Apothecaries. Medicine in Seventeenth-Century Edinburgh* (East Linton, 1995). For the later impact of the Dutch on Enlightenment medicine, see: Antonie M. Luyendijk-Elshout, 'The Edinburgh Connection William Cullen's Students and the Leiden Medical School', *Studia Historica Gandensia*, 273 (1989), 47–63; Lisa Rosner, *Medical Education in the Age of Improvement. Edinburgh Students and Apprentices 1760–1826* (Edinburgh, 1991).

[23] C. D. van Strien & Margreet Ahsmann., 'Scottish Law Students in Leiden at the End of the Seventeenth Century. The Correspondence of John Clerk, 1694–1697', *Lias*, 19 (1992), 271–330, 20 (1993), 1–65; T. C. Smout, 'A Scottish Medical Student at Leyden and Paris 1724–1726, Part I–III, *Proceedings of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh*, 24 (1994), 97–104, 260–267, 428–436; Hopetoun Research Group Studies, *The Diaries and Travels of Lord John Hope* (n.p., n.d.). Cf. C. D. van Strien, 'Schotse Studenten in Leiden Omstreeks 1700', *Leids Jaarboekje* (1994), 133–148, (1996), 127–148.

Many areas still remain to be explored, including an in-depth study of Scottish-Dutch theological connections, diplomatic and political relations, the merchant and finance houses and the imperial connections with Asia and the Americas.[24] Much work remains to be done as well on the Scottish-Dutch book trade despite the recent work by William Kelly who has produced a survey of Low Countries imprints in Scotland and work on the history of the book in Scotland.[25]

An adequate study of Scotland's relationship with the Republic of Letters is a further gap in the historiography. Despite the widely acknowledged Dutch roots of the Scottish Enlightenment, the Scottish-Dutch intellectual exchange in the seventeenth and especially in the eighteenth century has not been explored enough, although related aspects, such as the history of the Scottish universities and the Scottish book, have benefited recently from new attention.[26] Links with the Republic of Letters tend to be discussed within the wider framework of the Scottish Enlightenment but few have explored these on their own merits.[27] Exploring the question of Scotland's engagement with the

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[24] For some preliminary work, see Esther Mijers, 'A Natural Partnership? Scotland and Zeeland in the Early Seventeenth Century', in: A. I. Macinnes & A. H. Williamson (eds), *Shaping the Stuart World, 1603–1714: The Atlantic Connections* (Leiden, 2005), 233–260; *Idem*, 'Living between Cultures: Scots in Old and New Netherland', *Long Island Historical Journal* (forthcoming); Steve Murdoch, 'The Good, the Bad, and the Anonymous: A Preliminary Survey of the Scots in the Dutch East Indies 1612–1707', *Northern Scotland*, vol. 22 (2002).

[25] W. A. Kelly, *Low Countries Imprints in Scottish Research Libraries* (Münster etc, 2007). Cf. Alastair J. Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade 1500–1720. Print Commerce and Print Control in Early Modern Scotland* (East Linton, 2000). The National Library of Scotland is working on the *Scottish Book Trade Index (SBTI)*.

[26] The *St Andrews History of the Universities Project* has been ongoing since 2002. It is a major research initiative focused on the history of the Scottish universities in their local, national and international contexts. See for instance S. J. Reid, 'Education in post-Reformation Scotland: Andrew Melville and the University of St Andrews' (St Andrews, PhD thesis, 2008). Cf. Roger L. Emerson, *Academic Patronage in the Scottish Enlightenment. Glasgow, Edinburgh and St Andrews Universities* (Edinburgh, 2008); Esther Mijers, 'The Netherlands, William Carstares and the Reform of Edinburgh University 1690–1715', *History of Universities*, XXV/2 (Oxford, 2011), 111–142. For the book trade, see for instance Paul Wood (ed.), *The Culture of the Book in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Toronto, 2000); Rick Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book: Scottish Authors and Their Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland, and America* (Chicago, 2007); Stephen Brown & Warren McDougall (eds), *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland, Volume II: Enlightenment and Expansion 1707–1800* (Edinburgh, 2012).

[27] James Moore, 'Natural Law and the Pyrrhonian Controversy', in: Peter Jones (ed.), *Philosophy and Science in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh, 1988), 21; David Allan, Virtue, *Learning and the Scottish Enlightenment: Ideas of Scholarship*

European Republic of Letters from his own Enlightenment perspective, John Robertson, in *The Case for the Enlightenment*, has offered a devastating assessment which he considers limited and of specialized interest.[28] While there is no denying that Scotland was a marginal player until around 1730, the final verdict must depend in part on how the Republic of Letters is defined. It is my contention that it had a character and nature of its own and constituted an intellectual world in which Scotland had a place. To the Scots it was the world of learning as well as a mechanism for the exchange of ideas. As Hilde de Ridder-Symoens has argued in her study of universities in early modern Europe, student mobility and migration was 'the only way in which the Scottish […] intelligentsia could become Europeanized and steep themselves in European culture and European scientific and economic progress.'[29] A closer look into the channels and institutions that made exchange possible is therefore needed.

Defining the Republic of Letters is a historiographical minefield.[30] The question of what was the Republic of Letters has occupied historians for decades. Paul Dibon defined it in 1978 as 'an intellectual community transcending space and time'.[31] He situated it firmly in the late seventeenth century and there it has remained ever since although few can agree on the exact dates, geography or meaning. For others, the concept of the Republic of Letters is not specific to the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Historians often make a distinction between an 'old republic', which was a 'small and close-knit

in Early Modern History (Edinburgh, 1993), Introduction; Cf. the work of Roger L. Emerson. The only direct discussion of Scotland and the Republic of Letters of which I am aware is an unpublished paper by Thomas Ahnert, 'Scotland and the European Republic of Letters, c.1680–1720' (RICHES lecture series, Edinburgh, 2007). With thanks to Thomas Ahnert for giving permission to reference this.

[28] John Robertson, *The Case for the Enlightenment. Scotland and Naples 1680–1760* (Cambridge, 2005), 137.

[29] De Ridder-Symoens, 'Mobility', in: *Idem, A History of the University*, 416–452, 439.

[30] For one of the most recent attempts to define the Republic of Letters, see Anthony Grafton, 'A Sketch of a Lost Continent: The Republic of Letters', *Republics of Letters: A Journal for the Study of Knowledge, Politics, and the Arts* 1, no. 1 (May 1, 2009): http://rofl.stanford.edu/node/34.

[31] Paul Dibon, 'Communication in the Respublica Literaria of the 17th century', *Res Publica Literaria. Studies in the Classical Tradition*, I (1978), 43–55, 52. A year earlier J. A. H. G. M. Bots had discussed the ideal and reality of the Republic of Letters in his inaugural lecture: J. A. H. G. M. Bots, *Republiek der Letteren. Ideaal en Werkelijkheid* (Amsterdam, 1977).

cosmopolitan elite with its roots in Renaissance humanism and whose citizens were linked by networks of correspondence and shared erudite neo-Latin culture' and a later one that emerged towards the end of the seventeenth century, in part as a result of religious and political events in France and England.[32] By the eighteenth century then, the Republic had become a vernacular world which was relatively more public, open and democratic. Contemporaries also recognized this distinction, setting themselves apart from earlier times. As Maarten Ultee has pointed out, 'the term "Republic of Letters" does appear in print much more often from 1680 to 1720 than before'.[33]

A second problem relates to the geographic confines of the Republic of Letters. While the older literature by Annie Barnes, Erich Haasse and Paul Dibon concentrated on the Huguenot refuge and its concerns, more recent works have included the Catholic world of Jesuit scholarship and science.[34] Furthermore, correspondence, printing houses and publishers, the dissemination, spread and reception of philosophical and scientific works of authors such as Spinoza, Hobbes and Huygens, and membership of learned societies have all been used to map the Republic of Letters.[35] Lastly, the Republic's actual significance and purpose has divided historians, not least because of its double meaning. '[O]n the one hand, the Republic of Letters is a historiographical tool to refer to networks of scholars organized around academic institutions, learned journals, informal gatherings and epistolary exchanges; on the other hand, it is the normative ideal of a community of scholars and writers who have egalitarian and personal relationships, autonomous from political power, from religious solidarities and from national identities.'[36] Anne Goldgar's influential

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[32] April G. Shelford, *Transforming the Republic of Letters. Pierre-Daniel Huet and European Intellectual Life, 1650–1720* (Rochester, 2007), 3.

[33] M. Ultee, 'The Republic of Letters: Learned Correspondence 1680–1720', *Seventeenth Century*, II, 1 (Jan 1987), 95–112.

[34] Annie Barnes, *Jean Le Clerc (1657–1736) et la République des Lettres (Paris, 1938)*; Erich Haase, *Einführung in die Literatur des Refuge: der Beitrag der französischen Protestanten zur Entwicklung analytischer Denkformen am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts (Berlin, 1959);* P. Dibon, 'Communication in the Respublica Literaria of the 17th Century', *Res Publica Litterarum: Studies in the Classical Tradition*, I (1978), 43–55. For Catholic networks, see for instance Mordechai Feingold (ed.), *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters* (Cambridge, MA, 2003).

[35] Robert Mayhew, 'British Geography's Republic of Letters: Mapping an Imagined Community, 1600–1800', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 65, 2 (2004), 251–276.

[36] Lilti, Antoine. 'The Kingdom of Politesse: Salons and the Republic of Letters in Eighteenth-Century Paris.' *Republics of Letters: A Journal for the Study of Knowledge, Politics, and the Arts*, 1, no. 1 (May 1, 2009): http://rofl.stanford.edu/node/38.

monograph, *Impolite Learning*, has done a great deal to establish the latter interpretation, arguing that

> the scholarly community operated largely through personal, one-on-one relationships governed by an ethos of reciprocity and service. The rhetoric of the Republic of Letters suggested that its members felt a particular obligation to each other, often citing friendship as a reason for asking or for granting favors. Scholars found books for each other, delivered letters, showed each other hospitality, even assisted in finding employment. These services extended to third parties; letters of introduction from mutual acquaintances gave travelling scholars access to the good offices of savants in other towns.[37]

Closely connected to this distinction is the problem of the relationship of the Republic of Letters with the Enlightenment. Many American historians led by Goldgar and John Pocock see the two as opposites, whereas continental historians, most notably Daniel Roche, tend to consider them as (virtually) interchangeable.[38] Almost a decade ago, this problem was given further poignancy with the publication of Jonathan Israel's *Radical Enlightenment*. In his foreword to a themed issue of the Dutch journal *De Achttiende Eeuw*, the Dutch historian Wijnand Mijnhardt described Israel's contribution to the Enlightenment debate as having 'presented a new geography', having shifted its center from 'Voltairean France and the England of Locke and Newton' to the cities of the United Provinces, and having provided a new, earlier timetable.[39] Israel's Radical Enlightenment effectively coincides with the geographical and chronological space occupied by the Republic of Letters. Although it was certainly possible to be a participating member of the Republic of Letters while remaining unaware of Enlightenment thinking, as John Robertson has pointed out, I believe that there was

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[37] Anne Goldgar, 'Singing in a Strange Land. The Republic of Letters and the *Mentalité* of Exile', in: Herbert Jarmann, *Die Europeäische Gelehrtenrepublik in Zeitalter des Konfessionalismus* (Wiesbaden, 2001), 105–125, 113–4. Cf. *Idem, Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680–1750* (New Haven & London, 1995).

[38] For a good overview of this particular historiography, see Robertson, *The Case for the Enlightenment*, 38–41. Cf. L. W. B. Brockliss, *Calvet's Web. Enlightenment and the Republic of Letters in Eighteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 2002), 1–19. J. G. A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion*, vol. 1, *The Enlightenment of Edward Gibbon, 1737–1764*; vol. 2, *Narratives of Civil Government* (Cambridge, 1999); Goldgar, *Impolite Learning*; Daniel Roche, *Le Siècle des Lumières: Académiciens Provinciaux, 1680–1789*, 2 vols (Paris, 1978), esp. Ch. IV.

[39] Wijnand Mijnhardt, 'Foreword', *De Achttiende Eeuw. Documentatieblad Werkgroep Achttiende Eeuw.* 'Heinekenprijs Jonathan Israel', 41, 2 (2009), 117–118.

a connection between the two, that the Republic of Letters was a step towards the later Enlightenment and that the two often met and overlapped.[40] The difference is that the concerns of the Republic of Letters were not driven by any particular ideological agenda, but neither, I would suggest, was it pre-occupied by its own survival and glory as some have argued. Knowledge and scholarship were its aims; the universities and learned societies, the book trade, personal contacts and correspondence were its mechanisms and friendship and education kept it in motion. As such, the Republic of Letters incorporated the whole spectrum of scholarly interests in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, from the antiquarian and polyhistoric to the radical and the modern. To the Scots, it offered access to encyclopaedic knowledge in the form of books and learned journals, and an entire world of learning, and subsequently academic and self-improvement. The Republic's (theoretical) level playing field and open character guaranteed access to all scholars and allowed even peripheral countries to take part. Recent research has been especially concerned with mapping the Republic of Letters.[41] This study makes a case for Scotland's inclusion; it had mastered the advantages of networks and personal contacts a long time ago and, through its student mobility to the United Provinces, was more broadly engaged with it than some have argued.

Approach, Outline and Sources

This book looks at some of the academic and intellectual exchanges between Scotland and the Dutch world of learning in the period 1650–1750, which culminated in the Scots' engagement with the Republic of Letters. The latter is taken to be the networks of scholars organized around academic institutions, learned publications and correspondence. Scottish student migration and mobility to the United Provinces lie at the heart of this story and the Scottish institutional infrastructure; the Dutch universities and the book trade provide the junctions where these networks met. It is also a story of the Dutch

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[40] Robertson, *The Case for the Enlightenment*, 41.

[41] Cf. 'Cultures of Knowledge' at the University of Oxford: http://www.history.ox.ac.uk/cofk/; 'Mapping the Republic of Letters' at Stanford: https://republicofletters.stanford.edu/; and 'Circulation of Knowledge and Learned Practices in the 17th-Century Dutch Republic in the Netherlands: http://ckcc.huygens.knaw.nl/.

universities and book trade as influential in Scotland's academic reform and change, which in turn allowed wider participation of the Scots in the Republic of Letters after approximately 1700. There had, of course, always been Scots who were part of the Republic of Letters, even in its oldest, Erasmian incarnation. Indeed, the professoriate had almost automatic membership. It is a sign not only of the changes in Scottish concerns and interests but also of the transformation of the Republic itself that over time it came to absorb many more Scots, including marginal members such as students and scholars who published little and publishers, booksellers and gentlemen consumers of the international periodicals. Growing student numbers are of course not enough to show Scottish engagement with the Republic of Letters; we must also consider the import of publications and their absorption into the university curriculum, the way the learned discussions in Scotland related to those abroad, and personal contacts.[42] Charles Mackie provides the prism to address some of those issues without claiming to be comprehensive or definitive. The rise in Scottish student numbers in the period 1680–1730 is taken as the starting point to discuss the importance of Scotland's educational and intellectual relations with the United Provinces. The Dutch universities were of crucial importance to the exchanges between Scotland, the United Provinces and the wider European world of learning. Unlike the Radical Enlightenment, which was largely *extra muros*, academia was an integral part of the Republic of Letters.[43] Student mobility, between Scotland and the Dutch universities, between the different Dutch universities and between the United Provinces and Europe, by way of the increasingly popular Grand Tour of Europe, ensured a widening knowledge of new ideas. This development was, on one hand, underpinned by the infrastructure put in place by the wider Scottish community in the United Provinces, and, on the other hand, accompanied by a significant Scottish-Dutch book trade. However, until the middle of the eighteenth century it was always one-sided, flowing from the Continent to Scotland. For this reason the approach taken here will

[42] Thomas Ahnert has made a start examining whether there was a two-way exchange and if Scotland was an exporter of published scholarship as well as an importer. Ahnert, 'Scotland and the European Republic of Letters'. Certainly by 1760 the Scots were exporting their own medical and philosophical texts to Europe.

[43] Or at least *sub rosa*, if it existed at all. Cf. Harvey Chisick, 'Interpreting the Enlightenment', *The European Legacy*, 13: 1 (2008), 35–57.

not include any assessment of the impact of the Scots, if there was any, on the United Provinces.

The networks that constituted the Republic of Letters were 'organized systems' of exchange and not all necessarily scholarly. They were reliant on key figures or 'gate keepers' as the 'major participants in the dissemination of information in this period' have been called.[44] Such roles were sometimes filled by key players in the Republic of Letters such as the German scholar Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) or the secretary of the Royal Society Henry Oldenburg (c. 1619–1677). They and others like them established and shaped scholarly networks through their correspondence and personal contacts. Scotland lacked such giants but there were individuals who played an intermediary role. The argument for studying the lesser-known participants in the Republic of Letters, the 'servants' rather than the 'princes', has been made by the Dutch historian Saskia Stegeman, an exponent of the Republic of Letters as conduct approach taken by Anne Goldgar.[45] Charles Mackie was such a servant. He was typical of, and sometimes even instrumental in, the connection between Scotland and the Republic of Letters. He acted as an agent to the Dutch book trade, cooperating especially closely with the Dutch-based Scottish bookseller Thomas Johnson (c. 1677–1735). But Mackie was also a gatekeeper of his own network of Scottish students and scholars in the United Provinces.[46] Among his contacts, he took on a number of different guises: an adviser to students and tutors, an agent and cooperator to Thomas Johnson, an importer of textbooks and a spokesman for a group called the Associated Critics. He is presented here as a transitional figure between Scotland and the United Provinces, between Scotland and the Republic of Letters and between the Republic of Letters and the Scottish Enlightenment.

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[44] David A. Kronick, 'The Commerce of Letters: Networks and "Invisible Colleges" in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Europe', *Library Quarterly*, vol. 71, no. 1 (2001), 28–43, 32.

[45] Goldgar, *Impolite Learning*; Saskia Stegeman, *Patronage and Service in the Republic of Letters. The Network of Theodorus Janssonius van Almeloveen (1687–1754)* (Amsterdam & Utrecht, 2005), 3.

[46] Marika Keblusek, 'Profiling the Early Modern Agent', in: Hans Cools, Marika Keblusek & Badeloch Noldus (eds), "*Your humble servant*". *Agents in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800* (Hilversum, 2006), 10. Cf. *Idem*, 'Book Agents. Intermediaries in the Early Modern World of Books', in: *Ibid*., 97–107.

Mackie's career is a good illustration of the changing intellectual and educational relationship between Scotland and the United Provinces in the early eighteenth century. It shows us something of the many students and books that constituted the exchange and confirms their ties to education and changing motivations. His links with the United Provinces and his personal network as a whole seem to have come more or less to an abrupt halt by the early 1740s. The death of his friend, the bookseller Thomas Johnson, in 1735 meant that he lost an important personal contact. While he kept in touch with Scottish students abroad, he traveled little after his appointment as Chair of Universal History. At the same time, the decline of Scottish student numbers at the Dutch universities, owing to the improvements of the Scottish universities emulating the Dutch, undercut the old ties. More importantly, this also coincided with a general shift in focus of the entire scholarly community towards France and England. The Dutch lost their supremacy in the Republic of Letters. The end of Mackie's 'Republican' engagement thus coincided with the end of the Scottish-Dutch intellectual and educational exchange.[47] As we shall see, Mackie's own interests reflected this shift. It was also the end of his research-active period, even though he continued to teach until 1753. By the end of his life, the old Republic he had known was gone but the Scottish Enlightenment was flourishing and he belonged to clubs which sustained it: the Rankenian Club which considered literature and philosophy; the Old Revolution Club, which promoted Whiggism and kept alive the memories of the Revolution of 1688/9 and the Hanoverian succession; the Philosophical Society which encouraged all aspects of secular learning; and even the Masonic Kilwinning Lodge in the Cannongate, which paid lip-service to notions of equality and brotherhood which had not marked the earlier period.[48]

The story of the relationship between Scotland, the United Provinces and the Republic of Letters is set out in four parts. Chapter One first sketches the context of the relationship between Scotland and the United Provinces from the twelfth century onwards. It then gives the numbers of students and other Scots in the United Provinces during

[47] Mordechai Feingold, 'Reversal of Fortunes: The Displacement of Cultural Hegemony from the United Provinces to England in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries', Hoak & Feingold, *The World of William and Mary*, 234–265.

[48] L. W. Sharp 'Charles Mackie: The First Professor of History at Edinburgh University', *Scottish Historical Review*, 91 (1961), 23–45, 45.

the period 1650–1750, and the origins and context of their development, stressing the period 1680–1730 as a high point. The student numbers are accompanied by a series of tables in the appendix. The second chapter examines the education that the Scots received in the United Provinces. As a good history of the Dutch universities in the English language is lacking, the mechanics of the Dutch system of higher education are briefly explained alongside a description of some of the most important seventeenth century developments.[49] It sets out the Dutch curriculum in the different faculties and universities, and provides examples that illustrate that most Scottish students followed a 'pick and mix' approach. A 'typical' program of studies can be distilled from this analysis of the Dutch curriculum as the cases of William Carstares and his nephew Charles Mackie illustrate. Chapter Two also addresses the learning that took place outside the universities and during the Grand Tour, which often followed a Dutch stay. The third chapter shows the impact of the Scots' Dutch education on the different attempts at reforming the Scottish universities between 1680 and c. 1730, on wider Scottish society, especially the professions, and on the book trade. The latter was arguably the channel *par excellence* which provided the Scots access to the wider world of learning and allowed them to 'go Dutch'. The final chapter pays specific attention to Charles Mackie and his networks and participation in the learned discussions of the day. It shows him as an agent of his own scholarly circle and analyzes his role within it and its members' importance for Mackie's intellectual development. He is presented here as a paragon of Scottish engagement with the Republic of Letters, as a Scottish-Dutch agent, as a teacher and as a historian. At the same time, his activities highlight the limits of the Republic of Letters and the end of the Dutch connection.

Sources and Terminology

The source material for this study was collected both in the Netherlands and Scotland. The basis is formed by two sets of data: the matriculation lists and official records of the Dutch Universities of Leiden, Franeker, Groningen and Utrecht, and the private papers and correspondence

[49] The best overview so far has been provided by Jonathan Israel in: *The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Greatness and Fall 1477–1806* (Oxford, 1995), Ch. 34.

of the Scottish students, including the vast archive of Charles Mackie. Although far from complete and at times problematic, these records proved to be very useful in establishing trends and patterns in the Scottish student numbers when converted into tables, as has been done in the appendix. Remarkably little material was found in the Dutch archives in terms of 'soft data', correspondence, journals and private papers, which may be due to the fire many years ago in the Algemeen Rijksarchief (ARA), which destroyed many important records. Most private papers were found in Scotland, in the University Libraries of Glasgow (GUL) and Edinburgh (EUL), the National Library of Scotland (NLS) and the National Archives of Scotland (NAS). Some records have been published.[50] As is always the case, the primary material needs to be handled with care—the information obtained from it is only as reliable as the authors. In the case of the Scottish students in the United Provinces, there are a number of institutional records which help paint a more objective picture. Ultimately, though, this is a highly subjective story and Charles Mackie's papers especially remain open to interpretation as he never published anything of note.

This is a study on Scotland and the United Provinces. As such, a number of terms are used which are specific to the countries and the period 1650–1750. Where necessary I have explained or translated these, either in the text or in a footnote. Foreign language words, spelling, dating and titles have been used as would have been done by contemporaries.

[50] Edmund Calamy, *An Historical Account of My Own Life, with Some Reflections on the Times I have lived in (1671–1731)* (London, 1829); James Erskine, Lord Grange, *Extracts from the Diary of a Senator of the College of Justice. 1717–1718*, ed. James Maidment (Edinburgh, 1843); Walter Macleod (ed.), *Journal of the Hon. John Erskine of Carnock 1683–1687* (Edinburgh, 1893); L. W. Sharp (ed.), *Early Letters of Robert Wodrow 1698–1709* (Edinburgh, 1937).

CHAPTER ONE

CONTEXT AND NUMBERS

Scots in the United Provinces

Commercial relations between the Low Countries and Scotland had their origins in the Middle Ages. By 1100, a flourishing wool trade existed between Scotland and the Low Countries' coastal parts, from the area around French-speaking Lille in the south to Holland in the north.[1] Flemish traders and other skilled workers were invited to settle by the Scottish Kings David I (1124–1153) and Malcolm IV (1153–1165) and by the 1170s there were substantial Flemish communities in Scotland, especially in the south and along the Moray Firth.[2] The Scottish-Flemish trade quickly expanded from wool to cloth and other staple goods, leading to the creation of a central market. The first Scottish Staple was established in Bruges in 1313 and lasted until 1321. From the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, most of Scotland's export trade was geared towards the Flemish market and its security was deemed 'essential to the well-being of the Scottish economy'.[3] As a result, Scotland and Flanders lent each other military support, a relationship that was in effect an extension of the Auld Alliance with France. But even before the advent of the Reformation, Scotland began to leave the French sphere in favor of fortunes further north. When the Flemish trade collapsed in the fifteenth century, the attention of the Scottish kings shifted towards Burgundy, which, by the

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[1] L. Toorians, 'Twelfth-century Flemish Settlements in Scotland', in: Simpson, *Scotland and the Low Countries*, 1–15. For this Medieval trade see also: A. Stevenson, 'Trade between Scotland and the Low Countries in the Later Middle Ages' (Aberdeen, Ph.D. Thesis, 1982) and H. J. Smit (ed.), *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Handel met Engeland, Schotland en Ierland, I: 1150–1485; II: 1150–1485; I: 1485–1585; II: 1485–1585* ('s-Gravenhage, 1928; 1928; 1942; 1950).

[2] Flemish refers to virtually all inhabitants, both French and Dutch speaking, of the southern and northern Low Countries. Toorians, 'Flemish Settlements', *passim*. Cf. Scotland. Davidson & Gray, *The Scottish Staple at Veere*, p. 4. Alexander Stevenson, 'The Flemish Dimension of the Auld Alliance', in: Simpson, in: *Scotland and the Low Countries*, 28–42, 29–30.

[3] Stevenson, 'Flemish Dimension', 42.

1420s, had taken possession of most of the secular principalities of the Low Countries. Although trade conditions had changed geographically, Scottish commercial interests still needed safeguarding. The Treaty of Leiden of 1427, which offered a measure of protection to the Scottish commercial interests in Zeeland and Flanders, together with the subsequent marriage of Mary Stewart (d. 1465), King James I's fifth daughter, to Wolfaert van Borselen, Lord of Campveere (1433–1486) in 1444, went some way in guaranteeing security.[4] The marriage of King James II (1437–1460) to Mary of Guelders (c. 1434–63) in 1449 was also part of this new strategy for the Scottish kings, hailing the beginning of a century of close relations between Scotland and the eastern province of Guelders.[5]

Meanwhile, the Scottish wool and cloth trade increasingly began to concentrate on the Scheldt delta, the commercial artery for most of the Low Countries, indicating a further move northwards away from the Flemish provinces and the French sphere. As a result, the Zeeland archipelago gained in importance and, in 1505, an official Scottish Staple was founded in Veere (Campveere), where Scottish ships had been welcomed since 1439.[6] The Staple was established by a contract between the Scottish State and the port of Veere and meant a formalization of the old commercial ties. In reality, it was the Scottish Convention of Royal Burghs that dictated matters. The contract defined the staple goods as: 'All Sorts of Wool, Woollen and Linen Yarn, All Woollen and Linen Manufactories, Hydes and Skins of all sorts, Playding, Kerleys, Scots Cloath, Stockins, Salmond, Tallow, Oyl, All Sorts of Barrel Flesh. Pork, Butter, Leather dressed and Undressed'.[7] Importantly, it also regulated the rights and conduct of the Scottish merchants, a process overseen by the Staple Conservator who upheld a working relationship with both the Convention of Royal Burghs and the Scottish Parliament.[8]

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[4] Rooseboom, *The Scottish Staple*, Ch. I, appendix, no. 20. Cf. David Ditchburn, 'The Place of Guelders in Scottish Foreign policy, c. 1449–1542', in Simpson, *Scotland and the Low Countries*, 59–75, 63.

[5] Ditchburn, 'The Place of Guelders in Scottish Foreign policy'.

[6] V. Enthoven, 'The Last Straw. Trade Contacts along the North Sea Coast: The Scottish Staple at Veere', in: Roding & Heerma van Voss, *The North Sea and Culture*, 209–222, 213.

[7] Zeeuwsarchief, Archief van de Stad Veere, 1215 Stukken Betreffende de Schotse Stapel, 1516–1625 (34 omslagen).

[8] For a description of the proprietary concerns of the Royal Burghs, see Douglas Catteral, 'At Home Abroad: Ethnicity and Enclave in the World of Scots Traders in Northern Europe, c. 1600–1800', *Journal of European History*, 319–357, 337–340.

The Conservator was assisted in his moral duties by the Staple minister, who was appointed by the Kirk in Scotland. Competition for the Scottish Staple was rife, with Veere, Middelburg and Antwerp all competing for the right to house it.[9] Following its initial foundation, the Staple moved away from Veere several times before it was finally established there in 1541, where it would remain until 1699.[10] Only once did it move after that; between 1668 and 1675 the Staple relocated to Dordt in the province of Holland.

A new phase in the Scottish-Dutch relationship commenced with the outbreak of the Dutch Revolt against the Provinces' Spanish overlord, Philip II. The blockade of the Scheldt River by the northern Dutch provinces further consolidated the ongoing shift of the Scottish trade away from Flanders. When the northern provinces broke away from the south and united in the Union of Utrecht (1579), the Scottish Staple became the official center of Scottish commercial activity in the United Provinces. More than a commercial hub, it also came to fulfil an important political role. Diplomatic traffic to and from Scotland took place via the Staple Conservator, and during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms it was a hotbed of political and religious activity.[11] Although crucial in maintaining the Scottish-Dutch mercantile and political relations, the Staple never had a complete monopoly on Scottish affairs in the United Provinces. There were substantial numbers of Scottish traders and merchants who operated outside, it in Middelburg, Dordt, Rotterdam and Amsterdam and who were active in the European and later on in the Transatlantic trade as well. Indeed, over the course of the seventeenth century, Veere was gradually overtaken by the city of Rotterdam in Holland as the center of Scottish trade.

If trade was the foundation of the Scottish-Dutch relationship, religion brought the countries even closer. Although Dutch Presbyterianism was more tolerant than the Scottish variant and continued to contain an element of Erastianism even after the Synod of Dordt (1618–1619),

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[9] The English Company of Merchant Adventurers established itself in Middelburg in 1582 and stayed until 1621. For a contemporary account, see J. Wheeler, *A Treatise of Commerce wherin are Shewed the Commodies Arising by a Well Ordered and Ruled Trade, Such As That of the Societie of Merchant Adverturers is Proved to Bee, Written Principallie for the Better Information for Those Who Doubt of the Necessarienes of the Said Societie in the State of the Realm of England* (Middelburg, 1601).

[10] Davidson & Gray, *Scottish Staple at Veere*, p. 143. Victor Enthoven, 'The Last Straw', 214.

[11] Mijers, 'A Natural Partnership?', 233–260, 236.

the Scots and their Dutch co-religionists mutually supported each other throughout their respective stormy Reformations and their long aftermaths. In 1572, the first Scots arrived in the United Provinces to support the Protestant Dutch in their rebellion against the Catholic Philip II. Soon a Scottish regiment was established in the United Provinces and the Scots Brigade, as it became known, was born. In 1578 a temporary second regiment was added and in 1603 the States General, the Dutch parliament, formally established a second Scottish Regiment followed by a third in 1628, and, for a few months in 1629, a fourth. Their numbers rose from 1,000 in 1573 to around 3,000 by the middle of the seventeenth century.[12] Many other Scottish soldiers fought in the Dutch Revolt on the side of Spain, either as mercenaries or out of religious conviction. The Scots Brigade was formally part of the Dutch States' Army, although neither the States General—despite being responsible for formally having established the Scots Brigade—nor the Scottish government had much to do with the recruitment process. Instead, ties with Scotland were strong and recruitment took place in Scotland, especially in the Lowlands. Although in many ways the situation of the many Scots in Dutch service did not differ significantly from the rest of the multinational forces employed during the Dutch Revolt or the other military conflicts on the Continent, the reputation and longevity of the Scots Brigade make it stand out. It institutionalized the Scottish-Dutch links beyond the realm of commerce and, like the Staple, was a vehicle for exchanges, both intellectual and religious. While some Scots took Dutch spouses and became naturalized or went on to serve elsewhere in Europe or the East or West Indies, many returned to Scotland, bringing with them experiences, ideas, goods and wives from the United Provinces which further strengthened the relationship between the two countries.

Following the arrival of the first Scottish soldiers in the Northern United Provinces, English support arrived in the early 1580s in the shape of the English Army led by the Earl of Leicester. In 1585 the cities of Vlissingen (Flushing) and Den Briel and Fort Rammekens were handed over to Elizabeth I as English garrisoned towns in return

[12] Hugh Dunthorne, 'Scots in the Wars of the Low Countries, 1572–1648', in: Simpson, in: *Scotland and the Low Countries*, 104–122, 116. Cf. Ferguson, *Papers Illustrating the History of the Scots Brigade.* Cf. Miggelbrink, 'Serving the Republic'.

for financial aid to the Dutch rebels, a situation that continued until 1616. The English regiments established a number of churches in Vlissingen, Utrecht and The Hague. They were Puritan in character and many Scots joined their congregations, including members of the Scots Brigade, whose higher-ranking army officers and army chaplains tended to spend their winters away from their troops in cities such as Utrecht, The Hague and Leiden.[13] Indeed, these English Churches were soon taken over by Scottish Presbyterians and survived into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, long after the English garrisons had returned home, as a result of the uninterrupted service of the Scots Brigade.

The civilian Protestant residents from the British Isles in the United Provinces were granted the right to establish their own churches in Amsterdam and Leiden in 1607. After the Synod of Dordt, this right was confirmed and extended throughout the country. By the middle of the seventeenth century the Anglophone merchant communities in Amsterdam, Leiden, Rotterdam, Vlissingen, Middelburg, Dordt, and Delft had each established their own churches, absorbing the English garrison churches in the process.[14] Like the military churches, these also had a large proportion of Scots in their congregations. The only churches 'exclusively' Scottish were the Staple Church in Veere and the Scots Church in Rotterdam. The Staple Church had been established by the Convention of Royal Burghs in 1614. Unlike its counterpart in Rotterdam, it did not have formal ties with any classis or synod in either Scotland or the United Provinces for a long time. Only in 1642, when its energetic minister William Spang (1607–1664) was invited to the General Assembly, did it become an official member of the Scottish Kirk. It joined the Classis of Walcheren in 1669.

While the Staple Church was usually careful to follow the Kirk in doctrinal matters and actively recruited ministers from Scotland, the Lords' Conservator also had a distinct influence on the religious direction of the Church. However, when the royalist Sir Patrick Drummond tried to resist Presbyterianism in 1640, he was deposed by the Royal Burghs

[13] A. Hulshoff, 'Britsche en Amerikaansche Studenten op Bezoek of voor Studie te Utrecht', *Historia*, 12 (1947), 185–190; 229–239, 187–190.

[14] Charles Wilson, *The Dutch Republic and the Civilisation of the Seventeenth Century World* (London, 1986), 181. Cf. Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of the Union*.

and replaced by the Covenanter Thomas Cunningham.[15] The latter had been smuggling arms to Scotland since 1639.[16] The Staple sided with the Scots in the Wars of the Three Kingdoms and played an important role in supporting the Covenanters through Cunningham's arms running, the raising of loans, and William Spang's propaganda for the Scottish Church. He actively promoted the Scottish Presbyterian cause in the United Provinces and distributed Scottish theological works.[17] In 1644, the Staple Church adopted the Solemn League and Covenant. A year earlier, a Scottish Church had been established in Rotterdam in an act of solidarity with the Scottish Kirk. The Rotterdam Church was formally part of the classis of nearby Schieland and was thus officially part of the Dutch Reformed Church. Its ministers were paid by the States of Holland and it looked for approval of its choice to the Rotterdam *vroedschap* (town council). Like the Staple Church, it received guidance from the General Assembly in Scotland, which also mediated calls to its ministry.[18]

After the Restoration, the English and Scottish Churches increasingly became the focal points for the Scottish community in the United Provinces, with the Scottish Church of Rotterdam at its spiritual, moral and social center.[19] The members of the congregation—merchants, soldiers and passers-by—were now joined by a new group of Scots, the Presbyterian exiles of the Stuart Restoration regime. As has been described by Ginny Gardner, 313 Scottish exiles left for the United Provinces during the period 1660–1688.[20] The first arrivals were ministers, who had been removed, and their congregations. They were joined in the 1680s by a group of high profile, aristocratic exiles, many of whom had left of their own volition to escape the royalist regime. They were bound by religion and, 'shaken together…in the bag of

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[15] Rooseboom, *The Scottish Staple*, p. 174.

[16] *The Journal of Thomas Cunningham of Campvere 1640–1654*, ed. E. J. Courthope (Edinburgh, 1928), p. ix.

[17] Ginny Gardner, 'Spang, William (1607–1664)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

[18] R. A. Houston, The Scots Kirk, Rotterdam, 1643–1795: A Dutch or Scottish Church?, in: Roding & Heerma van Voss, *The North Sea and Culture*, 266–286, 267.

[19] Catterall, *Community without Borders, passim*.

[20] Of this group, 65 were ministers in exile, 170 were 'definite' exiles, and 178 were 'possible' exiles, i.e. ex-patriots who were not necessarily themselves exiles but who upheld strong ties with the exiled community and the Presbyterians at home and therefore would have been almost unable to return to Scotland. Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, 213–249.

affliction', they formed a tight-knit unit with a unique identity that was determined by their predicament and their desire to return to Scotland and restore the position of the Kirk and its ministers.[21] They largely settled in Rotterdam and were well connected to the rest of the Scottish community. Aside from the Scottish Church in Rotterdam, they also joined the English Churches in Leiden and the Separatist Church in Utrecht. They returned to Scotland in two waves: the first group left in 1688 after James VII&II's second Proclamation of Indulgence, the second in 1689 after the Williamite Revolution.[22] During the first twenty years of their exile, they were mainly concerned with influencing church affairs on both sides of the North Sea but in the 1680s their congregations became hotbeds of rebellious activity. Members supported the Dutch stadholder, William III, and his anti-Catholic and anti-absolutist campaigns throughout Europe. Moreover, the arrival of the Scottish exiles also impacted profoundly on the Scottish community in the United Provinces. Their ministers provided spiritual leadership, and continued to do so even after the Revolution. Posts that had previously been filled by English ministers were now taken over by Scots.[23] Many of the aristocratic exiles of the 1680s registered as students or settled in or near the university towns of Leiden and, especially, Utrecht, to take advantage of the legal protection offered by the academic institutions: university students were protected from persecution, falling under the universities' own academic jurisdictions. For example, in 1684 the English ambassador requested the Senate of the University of Leiden to deny Duncan Cumming (d. 1724), a Scottish political refugee, his promotion on political grounds, but the Senate flatly refused. In 1693, the University of Utrecht's Senate resolved to protect the Scottish student Jacobus Kidt.[24]

By the end of the seventeenth century, the semi-permanent Scottish community in the United Provinces consisted of several overlapping groups: merchants, soldiers and exiles. The center of the community

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[21] Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth quoted in Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, vi.

[22] *Ibid.*, 155–178.

[23] Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, Ch 15, W. Steven, 'Notices of the British Churches in the United Provinces', *The History of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam* (Edinburgh, 1833), 259–345.

[24] P. C. Molhuysen (ed.), *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit*, IV (1682–1725) (Den Haag, n. d.), 23–7 1684. G. W. Kernkamp (ed.), *Acta et Decreta Senatus. Vroedschapsresolutiën en Andere Bescheiden Betreffende de Utrechtse Academie*, II (Utrecht, 1938), 11–9 1693.

was Rotterdam, which by now had overtaken Veere and had become the combined center of Scottish exile and commercial activity in the United Provinces. The city had gained a virtual monopoly on the growing and lucrative coal trade, which fell outside the Staple contract. The Scottish community was concentrated in the harbor district of Rotterdam, which gained the nickname 'Little Scotland'. The Scottish Church was the spiritual and social heart of this community and continued to be even after most of the Restoration exiles had returned home.[25] By 1690 it boasted 800–1,000 members, whereas the Staple Church in Veere had only some four hundred members.[26] Few Scots actually settled in the United Provinces for good, a relatively small number of exiles and soldiers excepted. Unlike other migrants in the United Provinces, such as, for instance, the Huguenot community, they never became fully integrated into Dutch society. It is also very difficult to be entirely accurate about the number of Scots in the United Provinces. Based on the above, there were some fourteen hundred Scots living in the United Provinces around 1700, although this figure excludes many.[27] The number of Scots living in the United Provinces was probably smaller than the number of those residing in Scandinavia and the Baltic. Those numbers are skewed, however, by the substantial military presence at the time of the Thirty Years War. The civilian numbers were probably comparable to and not too far off from the 5–6,000 Scots in Poland-Lithuania during the period 1600–1800 once the student numbers are taken into account.[28] But what really made the relationship between Scotland and the United Provinces stand out were the Dutch-based Scottish institutions—the Staple, the Scots Brigade and the Scottish Church in Rotterdam—which contributed towards an infrastructure that would enable Scotland to

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[25] Houstoun, 'The Scots Kirk, Rotterdam', *passim*.

[26] Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 412; 431; 448.

[27] For example, Andrew Little quotes a figure of 1,500 Scots serving in the Dutch navy in 1672 and some 2,000 in Queen Anne's time. Andrew R. Little, 'British Seamen in the United Provinces during the Seventeenth-Century Anglo-Dutch Wars: the Dutch Navy—a Preliminary Survey', in: Hanno Brand (ed.), *Trade, Diplomacy and Cultural Exchange. Continuity and Change in the North Sea Area and the Baltic c. 1350–1750* (Hilversum, 2005), 75–93, 77; A. Little, 'A Comparative Survey of Scottish Service in the English and Dutch Maritime Communities, 1650–1707' in Grosjean and Murdoch, *Scottish Communities Abroad*, 367, 369.

[28] Peter J. Bajer, 'Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, XVIth–XVIIth Centuries: Formation and Disappearance of an Ethnic Group' (University of Monash, Ph.D. Thesis, 2009), 100–101. Cf. Mijers & Murdoch, 'Migrant Destinations', 326–7.

tap into the intellectual and academic resources available in the United Provinces as well as the wider Republic of Letters.

Students

By far the largest group of Scots living in the United Provinces was students. They did not constitute a traditional community and did not settle for any significant length of time, but they were an important part of the Scottish presence in the United Provinces economically, socially and intellectually. Although their exact number can never be known, Scottish students are relatively easy to trace, having left behind a fair number of records. Their presence reached its peak between 1680 and 1730 when over one thousand matriculated at one of the four Dutch universities, although, of necessity, their numbers, set out in the appendix, must be seen as indicative rather than as exhaustive.[29]

Scottish students traveled to the Continent throughout the early modern period. Although Scotland was home to more universities than many European countries—by the late seventeenth century there were universities in St Andrews, Glasgow, Edinburgh and two in Aberdeen, King's College and Marischal College—the tradition of the academic pilgrimage ensured that many Scots traveled abroad to further their studies after taking their degree at home. Before the Scottish Reformation, the old universities in France and Italy had attracted Scottish scholars. After 1560, religious affiliation often determined where students went, although certain institutions, especially in France, were more immune to the religious divide than others. The Scots colleges in Douai, Rome, Ratisbone (Regensburg), Madrid and Valladolid attracted Catholics, while Protestant students went to the

[29] They are based on the published registers of the four Dutch universities. *Album Scholasticum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae* MDLXXV–MCMXL (Leiden, 1941); Molhuysen, *Bronnen der Leidsche Universiteit*, III–V (1647–1682; 1682–1725; 1725–1765) (Den Haag, n. d.); *Album Studiosorum Academiae Rheno-Trajectina*; MDCXXXVI–MDCCCLXXXVI (Utrecht, 1886); *Album Promotorum Academiae Rheno-Trajectina* 1636–1815 (Utrecht, 1936); *Album Studiosorum Academiae Franekerensis* (Franeker, 1968); *Album Promotorum Academiae Franekerensis* (1591–1811) (Franeker, 1972); *Album Studiosorum Academiae Groninganae* (Groningen, 1915). The United Provinces are not (yet) fully incorporated into the Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern European Biographical Database (SSNE), http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne/.

universities in the Baltic and the Holy Roman Empire.[30] However, the Thirty Years War (1618–1648) had a devastating effect on the universities in central Europe and diverted Scots towards those in Scandinavia, Poland-Lithuania and especially to the newly established University of Leiden in the United Provinces (1575).[31]

Over the course of the seventeenth century, the United Provinces became an increasingly popular destination for Scottish students. In the first half of the century, some 79 Scottish students matriculated at Leiden.[32] By 1690, their number had more than doubled.[33] Taken together, the four main Dutch Universities of Leiden, Franeker, Groningen and Utrecht educated at least 1,500 Scots during the period 1650–1750. The popularity of the Dutch institutions can be explained by a combination of push and pull factors, with religion as its underlying theme. Prior to the Thirty Years War, Leiden had been popular with Protestant students. Medical students especially were looking for alternatives to the Italian Universities of Bologna and Padua once the Counter-Reformation was in full swing.[34] The first real surge in Scottish students coincided with the outbreak of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. The restoration of the Stuart monarchy and its aftermath explain the further wave of students who were either forced or simply preferred to study on the Continent. The 1680s especially saw many high-profile Scots leave, such as professionals and politicians, who subsequently found refuge at the Dutch universities. Sir Thomas Stewart

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[30] J. H. Burton, *The Scot Abroad* (Edinburgh, 1864), pp. 190–198; W. Forbes Leith, *et al.*, (eds), *Records of the Scots Colleges at Douai, Rome, Madrid, Valladolid and Ratisbon*, 2 vols. (Aberdeen, 1906); W. Forbes Leith (ed.), *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics during the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries* 2 vols. (London, 1909); A. Mirot, *Souvenirs du Collège des Ecossais* (Paris, 1962); J. L. Carr, *Le Collège des Ecossais à Paris, 1662–1962* (Paris, 1962). Cf. *Die Matrikel der Universitat Rostock* (Rostock, 1889); T. Fischer, *The Scots in Germany* (Edinburgh, 1902), p. 313. See also Mijers & Murdoch, 'Migrant Destinations'.

[31] Howard Hotson, 'A Dark Golden Age: The Thirty Years' War and the Universities of Northern Europe', in: A. I. Macinnes, T. Riis & F. G. Pedersen (eds), *Ships, Guns and Bibles in the North Sea and the Baltic States, c. 1350–c. 1700* (East Linton, 2000), 235–270.

[32] James K. Cameron, 'Some Scottish Students and Teachers at the University of Leiden in the late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' in: Simpson, *Scotland and Low Countries*, 122–136, 124.

[33] Esther Mijers, 'Scottish Students in the Netherlands, 1680–1730', in: Grosjean & Murdoch, *Scottish Communities Abroad*, 327.

[34] Ole Grell, 'The Attraction of Leiden University for English Students of Medicine and Theology, 1590–1642', *Studia Historica Gandensia*, 273 (1989), 83–104.

of Coltness, brother of Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees (1635–1713), described the situation as follows:

> Here was the ingenious upright Archibald Earl of Argyll, too virtuous for so licentious a court as was that of King Charles, and too good to have after this fallen into bloody hands by popish councels. Here was the Earl of Loudoun-Campbell, who died *anno* 1684, and lies buried in the English Church at Leiden. There was here the Lord Viscount Staire, and with him for education his son Sir David Dalrymple, in better times Lord Advocate, and his grandson John […]. Here was also Lord Melvill, high Commisionner to the Restitution Parliament [of] 1690 under King William, and Secretary of State, and with him his son Earl of Leven […]. A man of great name in better days was also here, Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart, Earl of Marchmont, Chancellor of Scotland, and High Commissioner to Parliament in King William's reign. But it were endless to name all the honest party of gentry and ministers, outlawed, banished and forfawlted for the cause of religion and civill liberty. I shall add, here was the good and great Mr William Carstares, high favourite of King William, and of his cabinet-councell for Scots affairs […][35]

Although many exiles returned in the late 1680s, Scottish student numbers at the Dutch universities continued to rise over the next 50 years. In the 1690s, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the wars of William III with France, which virtually closed it off to visitors from across the Channel, and the harsh economic conditions in Scotland contributed to further diverting Scottish students towards the Dutch universities. Despite a marked drop in the early 1700s and 1710s, which might be explained by the parliamentary Union of 1707 and the surrounding Jacobite unrest, the Dutch universities continued to attract large numbers of Scots well into the eighteenth century. Only in the 1730s and 1740s, as the Scottish universities were reformed along Dutch polite lines, did the Dutch stranglehold over Scottish education begin to tail off. After 1750, few Scots featured in the matriculation lists.

Aside from the problems at home, many Scots chose the Dutch universities over their competitors elsewhere in Protestant Europe for a number of very specific reasons. The United Provinces were staunchly Calvinist while at the same time prosperous and cosmopolitan. They were in many ways the country Scotland aspired to be and one where young Scots could study much more than the basic

[35] *The Coltness Collections 1608–1840* (Edinburgh, 1842), 77–78.

university curriculum. The Dutch were famously lenient in their attitude towards other religions and sects, offering Presbyterian Scots an alternative model to James VII&II's ill-fated policy of toleration, which drove so many Scots into exile. Many students marveled, though some despaired, at the fact that the Dutch did not require an oath of allegiance from their university students as was the case in the British Isles, which closed off the English universities to most Scots. While religious controversy certainly existed and was often played out in the university curriculum, it proved no insurmountable obstacle to either students or professors. The Scottish infrastructure contributed greatly to the appeal of the Dutch provinces: the large existing Scottish community and its networks facilitated students' crossing and stay. Travel by sea was less expensive than by land and existing trade and credit relations meant that crossing the North Sea was reasonably cheap and easy.[36] Scottish students also benefited from the commercial connections already in place that ensured relatively cheap and safe methods of sending money abroad, making the financing of their studies in the United Provinces easier than in many other countries.[37] The presence and experience of so many fellow countrymen encouraged and reassured both students and their parents. But the reputation of the Dutch universities was the biggest attraction. Famous professors, such as the medical professor Herman Boerhaave (1668–1738) at Leiden and the legalist Jean Barbeyrac (1674–1744) at Groningen, drew in large groups of students by sheer reputation. Fame, prestige and tradition arguably became the most important arguments for receiving a Dutch education as time went on. In 1699, the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh minuted a complaint about the many students claiming to hold a degree from abroad when in reality they did not.[38]

Between 1681 and 1730 the Scottish presence at the Dutch universities reached its climax. Some 1,027 Scots matriculated officially at one of the four main Dutch universities of Leiden, Franeker, Groningen or Utrecht. Compared to the number of matriculations at the five universities in Scotland—Edinburgh, Glasgow, St. Andrews, and the

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[36] Roger L. Emerson, 'The World in which the Scottish Enlightenment Took Shape', in: *Idem*, *Essays on David Hume, Medical Men and the Scottish Enlightenment* (Farnham, UK/Burlington, VT, 2009), 1–19, 1.

[37] Cairns, 'Importing Our Lawyers from Holland', 144–145.

[38] John Macpherson Pinkerton (ed.), *Minute Book of the Faculty of Advocates I 1661–1712* (Edinburgh, 1976), 195–196.

Aberdeen Colleges, King's and Marischal—around the same time, these numbers made the Dutch universities effectively a sixth Scottish university, especially when it is borne in mind that many more Scots studied at the Dutch universities without ever matriculating. The matriculation lists of the Scottish universities give the following numbers for the period 1680–1730: the Aberdeen Colleges, Marischal and King's, had approximately 2,230 and 550 students respectively, the combined colleges of St. Andrews had around 1,000 students, and Edinburgh and Glasgow had respectively around 6,500 and 5,000 students.[39] As the majority of Scottish students in the United Provinces had already studied at a Scottish institution, this meant that at least 7 percent of these students went on to obtain a Dutch education. At the Dutch universities, the Scots formed a significant part of the total student body and were certainly recognized as such by the universities' officials although they never formed a separate nation or college unlike, for instance, their German counterparts. At Leiden, Scottish students were officially responsible for 11.5 percent of all foreign students between 1676 and 1700. Between 1701 and 1725 this percentage further increased to almost 13 percent, and even after their numbers started to drop during the period 1726–1750 they still made up almost 10 percent of all foreigners.[40]

The high numbers of Scottish students at the Dutch universities are well known and have been analyzed by several authors.[41] But even more important than the official numbers are the unofficial numbers of unregistered students. Matriculation was only essential when a

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[39] Peter John Anderson (ed.), *Fasti Academiae Mariscallanae Aberdonensis II. Officers, Graduates, and Alumni* (Aberdeen, 1898); *Idem*, *Officers and Graduates of University and King's College 1450–1860* (Aberdeen, 1893); *Records of the University of St. Andrews* [typescript, St. Andrews University]; *A Catalogue of the Graduates in the Faculties of Arts, Divinity, and Law, of the University of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1858); *List of Graduates in Medicine in the University of Edinburgh, from 1705–1866* (Edinburgh, 1867); *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis III. List of Members* (Glasgow, 1865). See also Emerson, *Academic Patronage in the Scottish Enlightenment*, 212.

[40] For a breakdown of all foreign students at Leiden around this time, see: H. T. Colenbrander, 'De Herkomst der Leidsche Studenten', in: *Pallas Leidensis* (Leiden, 1925), 275–303, 295, 299, 303. According to Colenbrander, a little under half of all students at Leiden between 1676 and 1750 came from abroad.

[41] Colenbrander, 'De Herkomst der Leidsche Studenten'; Robert Feenstra, 'Scottish-Dutch Legal Relations in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in: T. C. Smout, *Scotland and Europe 1200–1850* (Edinburgh, 1986), 128–142; Van Strien, 'Schotse Studenten in Leiden'; Mijers, 'Scottish Students in the Netherlands'.

student required a degree. For most, it was the experience of having spent some time at a Dutch university and attending specific classes that mattered. Many more attended public lectures, private *colleges* (classes), anatomical dissections and experiments in chemistry and physics, without matriculating, for a variety of reasons. They may have been exiles and may have suffered financial hardship or wished to keep a low profile for political reasons. On the other hand, a number of exiles matriculated on purpose as the Dutch universities guaranteed their students protection from persecution.[42] An increasing number of Scottish students visited a Dutch university, or sometimes several, for only a brief period of time, maybe only one term, as part of a longer Grand Tour of Europe, especially after 1700. Still others learned skills such as banking, trading, engineering, land surveying or military techniques either at specialist schools or in apprenticeships, and therefore do not appear in the matriculation lists. There is no record of many of these students, other than passing references in correspondence and private papers.

If it is impossible to give definitive numbers, it is certainly possible to uncover clear trends in Scottish student presence and mobility. The most important university by far was Leiden: 867 Scots registered here as students during the period 1681–1730. It was the most prestigious and cosmopolitan of all Dutch universities and welcomed students from all over Europe to its classrooms. By comparison, the other three universities seem to have attracted only small numbers of Scottish students. Utrecht, Franeker and Groningen respectively registered 118, 25 and 27 Scots between 1681 and 1730. The attractions of these universities were more specific than the general appeal and prestige of Leiden. In the middle of the seventeenth century, Franeker and, especially, Utrecht, were famous for their divinity faculties. The English Puritan theologian William Ames (1576–1633) had taught at Franeker during the period 1622–1632. His reputation continued to attract students from the British Isles to the University's Faculty of Divinity, for at least some time after his death. By the middle of the century, however, its popularity was waning and the University of Utrecht had largely overtaken Franeker as a center of theological excellence due to the rise of Gijsbert Voetius (Voet) (1589–1676), Professor of Divinity and minister of the Dutch Reformed Church. He was the main advocate

[42] Cf. Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, 125.

of orthodox Protestantism in the United Provinces and his influence extended well beyond his own Faculty of Divinity to the rest of the University, the town of Utrecht and beyond. Unlike the cosmopolitan centers of Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Leiden, Utrecht was a conservative provincial town. It was not ruled by members of the grand bourgeoisie, the regents of the cities of Holland, but by conservative town elders who followed Voetius' orthodox stance closely.[43] The University, unlike Leiden in Holland, did not come under the authority of the Provincial States but under the direct rule of the town elders and their policy of prudence and staunch Calvinism. As a result, the University was particularly attractive to the more conservative of the Scottish students.

The rise of Utrecht as a destination for Scottish students began with the arrival of the Restoration exiles. Geographically it was conveniently situated. Although not as close to the stadholderly court in The Hague as Leiden, it was also further removed from the watchful eye of the English ambassador and the English government spies, yet it was still close enough to the major towns in Holland to allow frequent contact with fellow exile communities elsewhere. The exile and student John Erskine of Carnock (1662–1743) mentioned in his journal frequent meetings with fellow exiles in other cities, especially Amsterdam and Rotterdam.[44] Choosing Utrecht over Leiden was also a political decision. Since his appointment as stadholder in 1672, William III had been building up his support in the eastern provinces to counter the dominance of the province of Holland and the city of Amsterdam in particular and their anti-war, pro-French policy. In Utrecht, he appointed a brother-in-law of Hans Willem Bentinck as sheriff, one of his closest advisers.[45] As a result, the English ambassador lacked all influence with the city magistrates. Indeed, James Dalrymple, Viscount Stair, fled to

[43] K. van Berkel, 'Descartes in Debat met Voetius. De Mislukte Introductie van het Cartesianisme aan de Utrechtse Universiteit (1639–1645)', *Tijdschrift voor de Geschiedenis der Geneeskunde, Natuurkunde, Wiskunde en Techniek*, 7 (1984) 4–18, 12–13.

[44] Macleod, *Journal of the Hon. John Erskine*. Cf Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community, passim*.

[45] Hoftijzer, ' "Such Onely as Are Very Honest" ', 81. After 1689, Bentinck, as Earl of Portland, ruled Scotland on William III's behalf. See David Onnekink, 'The Earl of Portland and Scotland (1689–1699): a re-evaluation of Williamite policy.' *The Scottish Historical Review*, 85, 2 (2006), 231–249.

Utrecht in 1684 after an application was made to the States of Holland to expel him.[46]

Utrecht's registers are more incomplete than those of the other universities but the University is frequently mentioned in personal correspondence. John Erskine mentioned at least twelve Scots who studied with him at Utrecht in the late 1680s whose names do not appear in the matriculation lists.[47] Likewise, the English dissenter Edmund Calamy (1671–1732), who had studied at Utrecht, also referred to the large number of Scottish law and divinity students at Utrecht in his memoirs.[48] Other records confirm this. The University's Acts of Senate of 1693 mention an incident concerning the English Church in the city, referring to seventy to eighty Scottish and English students resident in Utrecht that year.[49] The most compelling record is the *Zwolse Bible*.[50] This seven-volume folio Bible was on permanent display in the city's Mariakerk, the church used by the 'English' congregation throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Visitors to the church would sign it and at one time it contained over 300 names until one of the keepers, in the first half of this century, had most of the signatures removed.[51] It still lists some eighty Scots, however, most of whom signed in the last decade of the seventeenth century. Utrecht's popularity was largely tied up with the presence of the exiles and, as a result, tailed off sooner than that of Leiden or even Groningen. Despite successfully reinventing itself as a medical center at the start of the eighteenth century, the University eventually lost out to its main rival, Leiden. Concerned with the latter's success, in 1707 the Senate of Utrecht considered a number of measures to attract more students, which included the appointment of a Professor '*juris publici Romano-Germanici*' and a new riding school.[52] Scots were specifically mentioned alongside German, English and Dutch students. Yet, despite its Senate's efforts, Utrecht continued to lag behind Leiden. Moreover,

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[46] A. J. G. Mackay, *Memoirs of James Dalrymple, First Viscount of Stair* (Edinburgh, 1873), 201.

[47] Macleod, *Journal of the Hon. John Erskine*, 172.

[48] Calamy, *Historical Account*, 172.

[49] LXX vol LXXX Studiosorum Scotorum et Anglorum'. Kernkamp, *Acta et Decreta Senatus*, 128.

[50] RUU, Zwolse Bijbel. Permission to consult this Bible was granted by the Keeper of Manuscripts, Koert van der Horst.

[51] Hulshoff, 'Britsche en Amerikaansche Studenten', 187.

[52] Kernkamp, *Acta et Decreta Senatus*, 213–216.

the University of Groningen began to gain international recognition in the 1720s, most notably for its law faculty due to the presence of Jean Barbeyrac. The result was an important geographical shift to this university of aristocratic students, who earlier would have attended the University of Utrecht. For over a decade, Groningen was part of the aristocratic Scottish students' Grand Tour alongside Leiden, and there was a close exchange between the aristocratic circles at the two universities.[53]

While Scottish student numbers at the Dutch universities peaked between 1681 and 1730, different universities followed different patterns. These trends are confirmed by the number of Scottish graduates, although relatively few Scots obtained a degree from a Dutch university. A better picture emerges when the faculties they entered are analyzed. While here as well numbers must be seen as indicative, it is possible to discern further trends. The numbers for Leiden, as the largest and most popular of the Dutch universities, can be considered the best indicator: law was undoubtedly the most popular subject, followed closely by medicine. Philosophy—formally the preparatory faculty for degrees in the three higher ones of Divinity, Medicine and Law—was the least popular. Although almost all Scottish students in the United Provinces took one or more classes in this faculty, very few actually matriculated as students because they were free to enter any of the higher faculties directly. After 1690, the number of Scottish students in the Faculties of Philosophy declined even further, most likely as a result of changes in student expectations. Indeed, Scots very much behaved like Dutch students, who also 'picked and mixed' their subjects in the lowest faculty to supplement their curriculum.

By far the majority of Scottish students in the United Provinces came over to study law. Scots law, like most continental law, was based on Roman law. The Dutch excelled at teaching this in an appropriate Calvinist context. Although the Dutch universities had great general appeal, many Scots chose the classes they attended for very specific reasons. In law, famous professors such as Ulric Huber (1636–1694) in Franeker, Cornelis van Eck (1662–1732) in Utrecht, Jean Barbeyrac (1674–1744) in Groningen, and Johann Friedrich Boeckelmann (1632–1681) and Gerard Noodt (1647–1725) in Leiden attracted students by

[53] EUL, La.II.90/91.

sheer reputation.[54] Indeed, Huber and Barbeyrac were responsible for the atypical spikes in the Franeker (1681–1690) and Groningen (1721–1730) numbers. While most law students did not take a Dutch degree—the French universities were far cheaper for that—it was deemed an essential part of a future Scottish lawyer's education to take classes at a Dutch university before entering the legal profession at home despite the Faculty of Advocates' concerns regarding the value of foreign degrees. Of the 449 Scots who matriculated in one of the law faculties between 1681 and 1730, at least 180 subsequently entered the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh.[55] For others, the study of law was part of a gentleman's 'polite' education, which included subjects offered by the philosophy faculty, such as history, general lectures on topical issues, demonstrations and dissections performed in the medical faculty, as well as lessons offered outside the universities, such as French, dancing and fencing. Most law students attended Leiden or Utrecht. Edmund Calamy described 'several gentlemen from that country [Scotland] that studied the civil law […].'[56] There was a steady rise in the number of Scots studying law until the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Domestic political events such as the Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707 and the Jacobite rebellions do not appear to have had a significant effect on the numbers of law students and the suggestive drop in 1707 may have been not more than that. By the 1730s, Scottish student numbers in the law faculties, as in all faculties, began to decline following the academic changes at home.

Students of medicine followed the law students in terms of numbers and trends, at least at the Universities of Leiden and Utrecht. 361 Scots studied medicine at a Dutch university between 1681 and 1730, the

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[54] G. C. J. J. van den Bergh, 'Cornelis van Eck 1662–1732. Een dichter-jurist', in: *Idem et al.* (eds), *Rechtsgeleerd Utrecht. Levensschetsen van elf hoogleraren uit 300 jaar Faculteit der Rechtsgeleerdheid in Utrecht* (Utrecht, 1986), 40–1; *Idem*, *The Life and Work of Gerard Noodt (1647–1725). Dutch Legal Scholarship between Humanism and Enlightenment* (Oxford, 1988); R. Feenstra and L. J. D. Waal, *Seventeenth Century Leyden Law Professors and their Influence on the Development of Civil Law. A study of Bronchorst, Vinnius and Voet* (Amsterdam and Oxford, 1975); R. Feenstra, 'Johann Friedrich Böckelmann (1632–1681). Een Markant Leids Hoogleraar in de Rechten', in: S. Groenveld *et al.* (ed.), *Bestuurders en Geleerden* (Amsterdam, 1985), 137–151.

[55] Cf. Francis J. Grant, *The Faculty of Advocates in Scotland 1532–1943* (Edinburgh, 1944) and Feenstra, 'Scottish-Dutch Legal Relations', 132.

[56] Calamy, *Historical Account*, 172. Robert Feenstra has identified 25 Scots as having studied law in Utrecht between 1681 and 1730. Robert Feenstra, 'Scottish-Dutch Legal Relations', 132.

majority of whom would have subsequently entered the medical profession. Unlike law, the study of medicine was not necessarily part of a polite education although the medical demonstrations and hospitals were certainly part of the students' wider itinerary. Leiden as well as Utrecht boasted excellent medical faculties, and in the early eighteenth century many Scottish medical students attended both.[57] There was an especially long-standing tradition of Scottish medical students studying at Leiden, which had attracted students from the British Isles since its founding in 1575.[58] Several of the Scottish virtuosi of the 1680s had been educated there in the 1660s, including ten of the twenty-one founding fellows of the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh.[59] The first three Professors of Medicine at the University of Edinburgh appointed in 1685, Sir Robert Sibbald of Kipps (1641–1722), Archibald Pitcairne (1652–1713) and James Halkett (1655–1710) also had close ties with Leiden, as did several members of the Gregory dynasty of professors. In the 1710s and 1720s, the most famous of the Leiden medical professors, Herman Boerhaave, who taught there from 1701 until 1738, attracted large numbers of students, who became known as Boerhaave's men. He educated an entire generation of Scottish physicians, including thirteen graduates, who went on to found the Edinburgh School of Medicine 1726.[60] The medical faculty of the University of Utrecht also attracted large numbers of mainly aristocratic Scottish students and produced a number of graduates, although it should be noted here that many medical students attended both Leiden and Utrecht.[61]

The third and final of the three higher faculties was that of Divinity. Unlike students of law and medicine, divinity students followed a different pattern. While Scotland and the United Provinces had close religious ties, by the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, they had gone their separate ways as far as church matters were concerned. The hard-fought Reformation, which had committed the Scots and the

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[57] R. W. Innes-Smith, *English-Speaking Students of Medicine at the University of Leiden* (Edinburgh & London, 1935). Innes-Smith has identified 95% of all Leiden students.

[58] Grell, 'The Attraction of Leiden University'.

[59] 'List of the original fellows as they appear on the Patent of 1681', in: W. S. Craig, *History of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh* (Oxford 1976) 65–6.

[60] E. Ashworth Underwood, *Boerhaave's Men at Leiden and After* (Edinburgh, 1977).

[61] *Album Promotorum Academiae Rheno-Trajectina.*

Dutch to each other in the early and mid 1600s, was by now well established in the United Provinces. The Synod of Dordt, which had seen the orthodox party within the Dutch Reformed Church triumph over the latitudinarian Arminians, had made the United Provinces the hero of Calvinist Europe. Scots were disappointed to note, though, that in reality the Dutch Church accepted a degree of Erastianianism. The theological discussions were inward-looking Dutch affairs and the Dutch population was lax in its religious attitude and observance.[62] Some Scots were shocked to see that the Dutch only worshipped on Sundays, apparently neglecting their Christian duties during the rest of the week.[63] John Erskine of Carnock was horrified to witness this laxness, even when observing the Sabbath. Describing his attendance at a week-long anatomical dissection, he wrote:

> They had so little regard for that day that they did not only continue the dissection but explained those parts of a man's body which might occasion greatest laughter and disturbance among young men, yea, to all, very unsuitable thought for the Lord's day.[64]

The days of William Ames and Gijsbert Voetius, who had been both closely connected to and concerned with their Scottish (and English) brethren and had attracted students for theological reasons, were coming to an end by the late 1680s. Although many Scottish ministers found a safe haven when the Stuart monarchy was restored in the 1660s, there was perhaps less commitment than one might have expected by the Dutch in terms of coming to Scotland's aid, even when, in the 1680s, James VII&II, first as Duke of York and later as King, drove through a pro-Catholic policy which caused a second wave of exiles. William III's invasion was motivated politically and his apparent lack of interest in Scotland and her church settlement soon disappointed many former exiles. Nevertheless, Scottish students studied divinity in the United Provinces in substantial numbers: sixty-four studied in Leiden between 1681 and 1730, of which many would have also studied at the other universities. From 1694, students of divinity at the University of Glasgow had access to a bursary founded by Anne, Duchess of Hamilton, which allowed them to travel to the

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[62] Sharp, *Early Letters of Robert Wodrow*, xlii–xliii.
[63] Van Strien, *British Travellers in Holland*, 201–211.
[64] MacLeod, *Journal of John Erskine*, 167.

Dutch universities.[65] It must also be remembered that divinity students are harder to trace than the other students as a fair number of them were exiles who never matriculated. Utrecht, as the most orthodox of the divinity faculties, was a popular choice for them. Its ministers, unlike the Dutch central government, had a long-standing concern with their Scottish co-religionists. Calamy knew 'a great number of Scottish students […] that applied to divinity'.[66] The University of Glasgow's librarian, Robert Wodrow (1679–1734), corresponded with at least four Scottish divinity students at Utrecht between 1698 and 1703.[67] After 1700, Scots continued to study divinity in the United Provinces, or at least take some classes there, but their numbers and degree of keenness dwindled.

Few Scots obtained a degree in the United Provinces, Boerhaave's medical men excepted. The majority of them had already spent several years at a Scottish university and had often already earned a degree before continuing their studies abroad. For most students, a visit to one of the Dutch universities was not much more than that. Many exiles only registered as students to secure legal protection from the English authorities. For others, a Dutch degree would have been too expensive. They chose to finish their studies in France or Italy where degrees were usually much cheaper and sometimes easier to obtain. Moreover, these degrees were universally recognized whereas Dutch graduates continued to have problems well into the late seventeenth century due to the United Provinces' political predicament.[68] Between 1680 and 1730, only one Scottish law student obtained a Dutch doctorate, at Leiden. The Faculty of Advocates had its own entrance exam, so a degree was an unnecessary expense. During the same period, 24 medical students graduated at Leiden, which was still relatively few considering that some 303 Scots matriculated in the Faculty of Medicine. At Utrecht, 34 medical students of the 84 matriculated Scots obtained a degree. Utrecht thus appears to have been more capable of keeping its (medical) students, despite the complaints in 1707 that Leiden was

[65] NLS, Wod. Q. XXVIII, Wodrow Papers, vii/92, 'Some Latin Notes on Human Reason, with Draft Testimonials for Glasgow Divinity Students Studying Abroad, 1696'.

[66] Calamy, *Historical Account*, 172.

[67] NLS, Wod. Lett. Q. I; Sharp, *Early Letters of Robert Wodrow 1698–1709*.

[68] See: Molhuysen, *Bronnen der Leidsche Universiteit*, IV, Resolutions of the Curates, 1682. The Curates specifically mention Denmark, Saxony and the Spanish Netherlands.

more successful at attracting large student numbers.[69] Scottish divinity students also did not obtain Dutch degrees, although some, such as William Carstares, were ordained in the United Provinces.[70] Like the lawyers, future ministers did not need a doctorate as the Kirk had its own entrance requirements. In the end, it was more important to spend some time at a Dutch university than to obtain a Dutch degree.

The question that needs assessing next is who these students were. Although biographical data are often scarce, it is possible to say something about the Scottish student community in the United Provinces as a whole. Its members were mostly young men in their late teens, some of the exiles excepted, from landed, professional and mercantile families, some of whom had a long-standing tradition of sending their sons abroad. Aristocratic families from the Edinburgh and Glasgow areas and the Borders, and also merchants from Dundee, the East coast of Fife and Glasgow, Stirling, Perth and Aberdeen and even Highland lairds, all sent their sons abroad to study.[71] Many families had the ambition of sending at least one son to the United Provinces while others developed a family tradition. Some students went over with a tutor, some with family members, but even if they traveled alone they soon found themselves in the company of their countrymen. There appear to have been different reasons why these Scots went to the United Provinces, and where in the Provinces they went. After the Restoration and into the 1680s, many Scottish students were more or less forced to go to the Continent, whereas after the Williamite Revolution, a visit to the United Provinces became more a matter of tradition and prestige, and a visit to one or more Dutch universities became the start of a Grand Tour of Europe. For these students, politeness and a civic education rather than religion was their motivation.

Upon their arrival in the United Provinces, these reasons were translated into geographical 'divisions'. Exiles and divinity students seem to have favored Franeker initially and later on Utrecht, whereas students with less religious association preferred Leiden. It seems that religion

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[69] Kernkamp, *Acta et Decreta Senatus*, 213–216.

[70] Tristram Clarke, 'Carstares , William (1649–1715)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4777, accessed 27 Sept 2010].

[71] Nicholas Phillipson has suggested to me that almost every landed family in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries aimed to send at least one son to the United Provinces.

was an issue only where it also had been one in Scotland.[72] Those who came to study law or medicine, rather than simply round off their wider education and broaden their horizons, also favored Leiden. Students in exile preferred the University of Utrecht, which had a long tradition of orthodox Protestantism personified by the figure of Voetius and his supporters. Besides, the town was also host to a larger exile community. After 1688, the United Provinces ceased to serve as a haven for Scottish refugees, with the exception of small numbers of Cameronians.[73] The Jacobites who followed James VII&II into exile favored the southern Netherlands, France and Italy. For aristocratic students—many of whom were sons of the 1680s exiles—Utrecht was the university of choice in the 1690s, but in the late 1720s this role was taken over by the University of Groningen, which had more interesting professors by then. Generally after 1700, prestige and social status frequently came to outweigh academic excellence. Study at a Dutch university meant access to an academic culture that was very different from what the Scots knew in Scotland. It was a world of civic education and polite pursuits. It allowed them to make useful contacts with fellow students and Dutch and other European men of importance, and prepared them for civic life. For the more scholarly inclined, the Dutch universities were also the gateway to a wider world of European learning and academic improvement.

[72] This was no different elsewhere on the Continent. Cf. Mijers & Murdoch, 'Migrant Destinations', 323–330.

[73] Jardine, 'The United Societies'.

CHAPTER TWO

A DUTCH EDUCATION

The Scottish Infrastructure

The Scottish community was fundamental to the students' time in the United Provinces and the Scottish-Dutch exchange that resulted from it. Most Scottish students relied on an almost exclusively Scottish network of sailors, merchants and bankers for their daily business. In addition, they also had access to a host of wider Scottish, English, Dutch, and, increasingly after 1700, French contacts, which shaped the Scottish-Dutch academic connection. Fellow students and tutors, but also landlords and booksellers, made substantial contributions to the intellectual development of the Scottish students in the United Provinces and were an integral part of the Republic of Letters' scholarly systems of exchange. Without the infrastructure for travel set up and maintained by the Scottish community in the United Provinces, and its formal and informal networks, Scotland would not have been able to benefit from its Dutch relationship in the way that it did.

The port of Leith, just outside Edinburgh, was the main point of departure for Scots traveling to the United Provinces. It had a long-standing connection with its Dutch counterparts; during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries ships sailed from Leith to the Dutch provinces on an almost daily basis. It has been calculated, for example, that between 1680 and 1686, over 1,500 ships sailed from Scotland to the Dutch ports, especially to Rotterdam in Holland.[1] Many of the smaller towns along the east coast of Fife, East-Lothian and the Borders, as well as places such as Glasgow, Ayr and Dumfries on the west coast, also regularly sent ships across the North Sea.[2] This active trade ensured a relatively easy crossing to the United Provinces, as travelers and cargo shared ships. In 1694, Sir John Clerk of Penicuik (1676–1755) sailed to the United Provinces in a fleet consisting of

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[1] Dunthorne, 'Scots in the Wars of the Low Countries, 1572–1648', 109. Cf. Peter G. B. McNeill (ed.), *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707* (Edinburgh 1996), 280–281.

[2] T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560–1830* (London, 1985), 155.

ninety merchant ships.[3] It took, in fact, less time to reach a Dutch port from Leith by ship than it took a carriage from Edinburgh to reach London. Safety was always cause for concern despite the experience of the Scottish skippers. The weather quite often wreaked havoc on the Scottish ships and on their passengers' stomachs. In 1688, Sir William Maxwell of Cardoness (1663–1752) took over a week to reach Veere in Zeeland, having to return once to Leith due to the bad weather. Upon his safe arrival, he praised God for having remained unharmed, even if Veere had not been the ship's intended destination.[4] Six years later, Sir John Clerk of Penicuik also had 'very rugh weather, but what was worst, there being a War with France, 4 French Privateers came upon our fleet'.[5] He also landed in Veere, although his ship had been bound for Rotterdam. Perhaps inspired by an acute awareness of the dangers of sea travel, it was not unusual for young Scots to draw up a personal Covenant with God, as did Sir John Clerk three weeks before he left for Holland.[6] James Erskine, Lord Grange (1679–1754), the second son of the Earl of Mar, recalled the voyage to the United Provinces in 1699 in his diary: '[…] we were overtaken with a great storm, and had near perished in the Dutch coast. […] Then I turned my thoughts to God, and promised ammendment, if I got safe ashoar.'[7] In good weather the voyage from Leith to one of the Dutch ports took only five days; in bad weather it could take up to two weeks.[8]

Most Scottish students arrived in one of the ports in Holland and Zeeland, others sailed for the Southern Netherlands, especially soldiers, in order to land closer to their regiments stationed along the southern border.[9] By the 1680s, Rotterdam had become the preferred port of entry. It was closer than Veere to the university towns of Leiden and

[3] John M. Gray (ed.), *Memoirs of the Life of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, Baronet, Baron of the Exchequer, Extracted from his Own Journals, 1676–1755* (Edinburgh, 1892), 12.

[4] H. M. B. Reid (ed.), *One of King William's Men: Being Leaves from the Diary of Col. William Maxwell of Cardoness: 1685 to 1697* (Edinburgh, 1898), 123.

[5] Gray, *Memoirs of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik*, 12–13.

[6] NAS, Penicuik Papers, GD18/5194/11.

[7] Erskine, *Extracts from the Diary of a Senator*, ed. 81–82.

[8] Van Strien, *British Travellers in Holland*, 68.

[9] The Scots Brigade was traditionally stationed in the provinces of Brabant and Guelders, close to the border with the Southern Netherlands. During the War of Spanish Succession a combined British army was stationed near Brussels. See also Joseph Taylor, *The Relation of a Voyage to the Army. In Several Letters from a Gentleman to his Friend in the Year 1707*, ed. C. D. van Strien (Leiden, 1997).

Utrecht and the capital Amsterdam, and was host to a large Scottish community. Some of the most important Scottish merchants were based in Rotterdam, such as Andrew Russell (before 1666–1697), Alexander Carstares, the brother of William Carstares, John Gordon, an elder of the Scots Church in Rotterdam, and the bookseller Thomas Johnson, who moved there from The Hague in 1728.[10] These merchants provided a first introduction to the United Provinces and its inhabitants to many students. Sir John Clerk described his arrival in Rotterdam in a letter to his father as follows:

> […] Since I wrote to you, I went to Mr. Alexander Carstairs and gave him the letters I had for him. He made me very welcome and after he had read your letter, he gave me his advice as to my settling in Leiden […]. Afterwards I went to Mr Gordon and delivered his brother's letter to him.[11]

Scottish students and other visitors could count on a network of merchants and bankers that provided them with credit; skippers and sailors, who took care of their letters and the goods they sent and received from home; inn keepers and landlords, with whom they stayed; and friends, political allies and fellow students with whom they shared their lodgings, traveled, took classes, exchanged news from home, wined, dined and went to church. Many students were indeed warned against too much involvement with their fellow countrymen. Like Sir John Clerk, they were advised to 'shun the conversation of [their] countrymen' and instead 'to dine with foreigners'.[12] The complaint about the number of fellow Scots in the United Provinces was a frequent one. For example, on November 4, 1686, John Erskine wrote: 'The multitude of Scots and English students was a great hindrance to the studies of those who did keep themselves much retired from company.'[13] Charles Mackie does not appear to have minded the company of fellow Scots and cultivated their friendship, even after he had returned to Edinburgh. He and his tutee Alexander Leslie made sure to meet with non-Scottish residents, including members of the Dutch professoriate and Frenchmen. Many others also took the opportunity

[10] Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union*, 98.
[11] NAS, GD18/5195/3.
[12] NAS, GD18/5194/11.
[13] Macleod, *Journal of the Hon. John Erskine*, 214.

to expand their social network with an eye on their future career back in Scotland.

Merchants were of crucial importance to the Scottish student community in the United Provinces and were a direct link with home. They provided financial accounts and credit, as well as a fairly reliable postal service. Correspondence was important to the Scottish traveler abroad. Letters brought news from home and provided introductions, but were also necessary to financiers. There were two ways of obtaining money, either through bills sent across directly from Scotland, or through letters of credit, which allowed the recipient to cash money whenever he wanted or needed. Both bills and letters of credit could be exchanged with a specific merchant who subsequently charged his correspondent in Scotland, with whom the issuer, usually a family member, had an account. A letter from Patrick Hume of Polwarth (1641–1724) to his mother, Lady Polwarth, dated The Hague, May 7, 1687, illustrates this rather complicated financial system. In his letter, Hume asked his mother to repay Alexander Baird, one of Andrew Russell's correspondents in Edinburgh, for the sum he had drawn from Andrew Russell.[14] Letters of credit were a rather costly affair due to the unfavorable exchange rate and the commission charged by the merchants.[15] The United Provinces were an expensive place to live for the Scots, as the frequent requests for money in the students' correspondence show.[16] Aside from their importance as financiers, merchants were also the most integrated members of the Scottish community in Dutch society. Traders, goods, ships, captains and crew commissioned by Scottish merchants were often Dutch. They also usually spoke the Dutch language, which was essential for the students' day-to-day life outside the learned circles of the universities. The example of Andrew Russell illustrates this social function.[17]

Based in Rotterdam, Russell was active as a factor and merchant between 1668 and 1697. He was at the head of a global network of

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[14] NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/622/20.

[15] Van Strien, & Ahsmann., 'Scottish Law Students in Leiden', 275.

[16] Cf. Van Strien, *British Travellers in Holland*, and *Idem*, *De Ontdekking van de Nederlanden. Britse en Franse Reizigers in Holland en Vlaanderen, 1750–1795* (Utrecht, 2001). The Russell papers, RH15, in the NAS contain a large number of accounts and bills. For the frequent requests for money, see for instance the correspondence between William Clerk and his father, NAS, GD18/2307. Over the course of two years William Clerk asked his father for more money in all but one of his letters.

[17] Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union*, 99–115.

contacts, trading with merchants in Holland, Flanders, Germany, Danzig, Scandinavia, France, Ireland, England, the West Indies, Surinam and New England in a vast range of goods which included arms, seeds, cloth, wine, paintings, tea, spices, timber, housewares and books. He also corresponded with many high-ranking Presbyterian Scots in Scotland and in exile in the United Provinces. He bought and shipped books for the likes of Sir James Dalrymple, Viscount Stair and Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun (1653–1716) (the Patriot), and was their, and many other exiles', banker. He had a profound interest in the political situation in Scotland and was an eminent member of the Dutch exile community.[18] Russell was a pillar of the Scottish community in the United Provinces. He was appointed deacon of the Scots Church in Rotterdam in 1671 and elder in 1676.[19] In 1679 he was executor of the estate of the minister of the Scots Church in Rotterdam, John Brown of Wamfrey (1609–1679).[20] Among his papers are numerous letters from Scots, both in Scotland and abroad, asking him to solve their problems with non-payers and merchants who did not deliver.[21] Other merchants fulfilled similar functions. The Amsterdam-based business of John Drummond and Jasper Van der Heyden had close contacts both with the city's magistrates and the wider Scottish community.[22] Merchants often provided introductions, advice on travel and where to stay and acted as mediators between students and their guardians.

After their arrival and having taken care of their finances, most Scottish travelers took up residence in more permanent lodgings. Students went on to their universities; merchants and exiles stayed in their port of arrival or went on to Amsterdam or Rotterdam; soldiers left to join their regiment. Travel within the United Provinces was relatively easy and comfortable, if sometimes somewhat slow. As the country was home to the most extensive canal works of Europe, the so-called *trekschuit*, a horse-drawn barge was the most common way to travel. Alexander Carlyle (1722–1805) in the 1740s thought '[t]ravelling in Holland by means of the Canals […] Easy and Commodious.'[23] Like

[18] Gardner, '*The Scottish Exile Community*', 35.
[19] Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union*, 101.
[20] NAS, RH15/106/327/7.
[21] NAS, RH15/106.
[22] NAS, Abercairney Muniments, GD24/1/464/17. For John Drummond, see Andrew Mackillop, 'Accessing Empire: Scotland and the Asia Trade', *Itinerario*, XXIX (2005).
[23] Carlyle, *Anecdotes and Characters*, 85.

most Scots before him, he arrived at Leiden from Rotterdam, 'in a Few Hours'. Travel to Amsterdam or Utrecht took two to three times as long.[24] The journey to Franeker and Groningen took even longer. To get to the latter, the students had to sail across the Zuiderzee. Travelers usually had lodgings already organized for them before they reached their final destination. They stayed in inns or with landlords who were often Scots themselves or English. Some of the most popular inns and boarding houses were *The White Heart*, *The Scotch Arms*, *The Queens Head* and *The Prince of Brandenburg* in Leiden; *The Bible*, *The White Heart* and *The Red Lion* in Amsterdam and *The Castle of Antwerp* and *The Jerusalem* in Utrecht.[25] Students and travelers heard about the best English or Scottish 'houses' from their fellow countrymen. French boarding houses were also very popular with students who wanted to learn the language. In the 1690s, Sir John Clerk, having initially lodged at *The White Heart*, soon left, following his father's advice to mingle with foreigners and 'settled in a chamber belonging to a Frenchman, whose whole family can speak nothing but Dutch, Latin and French'.[26] Charles Mackie did the same in Groningen in the early 1700s, staying with a Mr Cramant.[27] By the eighteenth century some of the best-known inns were featured in travel guides, which were increasingly available to travelers from the British Isles. Sometimes university professors also took students in to supplement their salary. Many Scots stayed in the same boarding houses as their relatives or friends. They also shared lodgings with their countrymen, fellow students or their tutor. For example, in 1713 the ensign Patrick Smyth, a medical student, wrote to his sister from Leiden: 'I lodge with the Gleneagles sons [Patrick Haldane (1683–1769) and his brother?] and [Ramsay of] Ochtertyrs'. They stayed with a Dutch landlord 'in the Rappenburg by the anatomy hall…'.[28] In 1715, Charles Mackie and his tutee Alexander Leslie (c.1699–1754) stayed in the same boarding house in Leiden, which was run by the Dutch surgeon Hendrik Ulhoorn, as the 'Laird of Saltons' [Andrew Fletcher, later Lord Milton (1692–1766)].[29] George Barclay

[24] Van Strien provides a useful table of distances and cost of transport. Van Strien, *British Travellers in Holland*, 81.
[25] *Ibid*.
[26] NAS, GD18/5195/5.
[27] EUL, La.II.91/46, 51, 53.
[28] NAS, Smyth of Methven Papers, GD190/1/38.
[29] NAS, Leven and Melville Muniments, GD26/13/505/1.

and his pupil stayed with James Hay, Marques of Tweedale (d. 1789), in the pension of a Frenchman in Utrecht in 1717.[30]

Outside the almost exclusively Scottish circle of merchants and financiers, Scottish students mixed with members of the English and, increasingly after 1685, the French communities. The university towns of Leiden, Franeker, Groningen and Utrecht were host to large groups of foreigners who provided a range of services to both the Dutch and the international students. Innkeepers, landlords, tutors, language teachers and fencing and riding instructors from many different countries introduced the Scots to gentlemanly pursuits and interests to supplement their academic education, which the students came to expect from their stay in the United Provinces. The Scottish students' contacts with the Dutch, however, were surprisingly limited and few bothered to learn the language. Exiles often did, on the other hand, and mixed with members of the Dutch elite. James Dalrymple, the Viscount Stair, and his son David Dalrymple of Hailes (1662/c. 1665–1721) were especially interested in the works of the Dutch legal scholars. John Erskine frequently mentioned meetings with his professors. William Carstares, the future principal of Edinburgh University, was in close personal contact with William of Orange and his Dutch advisers Gaspar Fagel (1634–1688) and Bentinck. Andrew Russell was part of an extensive network of Dutch merchants, bankers and booksellers. After 1688/9, the Scottish scholar and book collector Alexander Cunningham of Block (1650/60–1730) and the bookseller Thomas Johnson served as agents for a number of Scottish aristocrats, buying and collecting books in the United Provinces. Such integrated Scots were, however, more typical of the seventeenth century. By the early eighteenth century the Scottish students' infrastructure was made up almost entirely of Scots, and Dutch contacts had become rare. One notable exception was the limited number of Scottish ministers and soldiers who had settled permanently in the United Provinces and had taken on the Dutch nationality but still continued to play their traditional roles in the Scottish Church, Staple and army regiments. They were, though, in the minority. Unlike in Scandinavia, the Scottish community in the United Provinces was never absorbed into the Dutch population.[31]

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[30] NAS, GD18/5292/2.

[31] See for instance Alexia Grosjean & Steve Murdoch, 'The Scottish Community in Seventeenth-century Gothenburg', in: *Idem, Scottish Communities Abroad*, 191–225.

If the Scottish community of merchants was responsible for the infrastructure for students, the Scottish institutions in the United Provinces, the Staple and the Scots Church in Rotterdam acted as hubs for exchange in goods and ideas for all Scots, not just students. The Staple in particular played an important role in the contacts between Scottish and Dutch theologians throughout the seventeenth century. The province of Zeeland was arguably more Calvinist than the rest of the Dutch provinces and to many Scots its orthodox churches were an example and an inspiration. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the exiled Scottish ministers John Forbes (1568?–1634) and Robert Durie (1555–1616) briefly preached there until James VI&I raised strong objections and had them removed. A circle of like-minded thinkers emerged around Voetius and was heavily influenced by the English Puritanism of William Ames at Franeker and the St. Andrews-educated preacher at Middelburg, Willem Teelinck (1579–1629), who was one of the founders of the *Nadere Reformatie* (Further Reformation), a religious movement inspired by English Puritanism.[32] Perhaps as a result of the Bishops' Wars (1639–1640), Voetius' circle became more 'Scottish' in its orientation. In 1643, the provincial Synod of Zeeland had pledged its support to the Church of Scotland and, in 1644, the Staple Church adopted the Solemn League and Covenant.[33] A new generation now joined Voetius, including the Rotterdam preachers Wilhelmus à Brakel (1635–1711) and Jacobus Borstius (1612–1680), Jacobus Koelman (1632–1695), Jodocus van Lodensteyn (1620–1677) and the author Anna Maria Schuurman (1607–1678). They maintained relations with such Scottish Presbyterians in both Scotland and the United Provinces as the exiles Robert MacWard (*c.* 1625–1681) and Alexander Petrie (*c.* 1594–1662), minister at Rotterdam; the conspirator Robert Bailie of Jerviswood (d. 1684); the Staple minister and Bailie's cousin William Spang, the preacher and ecumenist John Durie (1596–1680); and the Covenanter political theorist Samuel Rutherford (1600–1661), who Voetius even invited to take up a chair at his university in the early 1650s.[34]

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[32] Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, pp. 358–362.

[33] *Ibid*., p. 385. Cf. W. C. P. Knuttel (ed.), *Acta der Particuliere Synoden van Zuid-Holland 1621–1700*, 6 vols. ('s-Gravenhage, 1908–16) II, pp. 399–402. With thanks to Allan Macinnes.

[34] *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, ed. D. Laing, 3 vols. (1841–2).

These men corresponded and cooperated on matters of religious controversy, the translating and printing of pious works, and the trading and smuggling of books. Although mainly based in Utrecht and Rotterdam, the Staple was regularly used by its members. Spang's employment of the Staple for his propaganda work 'established a vital conduit for Scottish publishing' from 1638 until the mid-1650s.[35] Throughout this time period, the Restoration theological works—sometimes illegally printed—continued to be shipped to Scotland via the Staple. Less controversial material also passed through Veere; for instance, William Spang played a significant role in the import from Scotland and subsequent publication of the Scottish maps in the Blaeu Atlas of 1654.[36] This was a Scottish-Dutch venture for which the Amsterdam-based Blaeu firm obtained and used the famous maps of Scotland drawn by Timothy Pont (c.1564–c.1614) in the late sixteenth century for their *Atlas Novus* (1654).[37] By the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Scottish students were less personally involved in such activities by the Staple and the Rotterdam Kirk than the exiles. Scottish-Dutch relations also became much more one-sided and the students themselves now came to act as a bridge or channel for the exchange of ideas. They mainly used the Rotterdam merchants to send books and goods back to Scotland. They in turn maintained Staple and Kirk contacts and in this way the older connections continued by proxy.

Institutions and Universities

Scottish students coming to the United Provinces to study could choose from a wealth of universities and schools. Aside from the Universities at Leiden, Franeker, Groningen and Utrecht, there was a fifth university at Harderwijk. There were also numerous *illustere scholen* (illustrious schools) or *athenea*, seminaries, botanical gardens and anatomical

[35] Alastair J. Mann, 'Mapping North Sea Print Networks during the Gestation of the First Atlas of Scotland: Commercial, Legal and Political Landscapes', *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 121 (3) (2005), Special Issue: *The Blaeu Atlas*, 243–261, 256.

[36] Mann, 'Mapping North Sea Print Networks', 256–258. Cf. Mijers, 'A Natural Partnership?, 241; Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, pp. 364–368. For the illegal book trade see: A. J. Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade 1500–1720. Print Commerce and Print Control in Early Modern Scotland* (East Linton, 2000), Ch. 3 and Rooseboom, *The Scottish Staple* pp. 155, 160–161.

[37] *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 121.

theatres, which offered lessons and courses but not degrees, and there were many tutors, teachers and masters who taught students privately. Some of the greatest scholars and scientists taught outside the universities: the Huguenots Jean Leclerc (1657–1736), Pierre Jurieu (1637–1713) and Pierre Bayle (1647–1706) and the famous anatomist Nicolaes Tulp (1593–1674) all taught at the illustrious schools and many university professors began their careers there.

The illustrious schools offered a partly practical, partly *propaedeutic* (preparatory) curriculum in which the last classes often overlapped with the courses offered by the universities in their Faculties of Philosophy.[38] Medicine and Divinity were also taught outside the universities. Students could receive instruction in subjects such as botany, anatomy and chemistry in botanical gardens and scientific theatres, which were not always part of a university. Some were attached to an illustrious school, while others operated as separate institutions. The anatomical theatres in the cities of Leiden, Delft and especially Amsterdam were particularly famous.[39] Divinity was also taught at seminaries, which were semi-independent from the universities' divinity faculties. The *Waalsche College* (1606) in Leiden, and its Dutch sister institution, the *Staten College*, trained ministers for the (Walloon) Church in the United Provinces and had close ties with the University.[40] The illustrious schools had a civic aim. They had developed in part in response to the needs of the town's notables and were the training grounds for the Dutch patriciate, the merchants, traders, bankers, sea-captains and city magistrates in an attempt to keep them at home rather than see them leave to study at a university elsewhere in the United Provinces

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[38] Theo Veen, 'Een Leeftijd Later: Enkele Aantekeningen ter Inleiding, Aanvulling en Verantwoording', in: E. O. G. Haitsma-Mulier *et al.* (eds), *Athenaeum Illustre. Elf Studies over de Amsterdamse Doorluchtige School 1632–1877* (Amsterdam, 1997), 11–34, 16.

[39] Rupp, 'Matters of Life and Deaths', 263–287, 263. The Leiden theater was part of the University; the one at Amsterdam belonged to the illustrious school.

[40] Willem Frijhoff, *La Société Néerlandaise et ses Gradués, 1575–1814* (Amsterdam, 1981), 17. The *Waalsche College* was founded in Leiden in aid of the education of ministers for the Walloon Church. Although its bursaries attended classes in the divinity faculty of the University, exams were taken directly before the Synod. The College's specific aims made it a separate institution. See also: G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes, *Geschiedenis van het Waalse College te Leiden 1606–1699* (Leiden, 1975). The students at the *Staten College* took their exams at the University of Leiden. See: Frijhoff, *La Société Néerlandaise*, 14, for other seminaries.

or abroad. Still, many of their students went on to university afterwards.[41] Aside from the Dutch students, these schools also attracted significant numbers of Germans and French Huguenots. Few Scottish students are known to have attended these schools and seminaries, although there is good reason to think that there were a fair number of them who attended for practical or vocational training.[42] Most may have been too old already or simply preferred the recognition of the universities. They were aware of the schools, though, and visited them as part of their Dutch tour. Practically all the major towns—Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Delft, Deventer, Maastricht, 's-Hertogenbosch, Breda and Middelburg—boasted an illustrious school. The most famous ones in Amsterdam (1631/2), Rotterdam (1681) and Deventer (1630) competed with the universities' Faculties of Philosophy. Of humanist inspiration, Latin and history were at the heart of their curriculum, but they also offered oriental and classical languages and philosophy. Some emphasized mathematics and geometry and their applications in disciplines such as geography, navigation, astronomy, physics, optics, architecture and fortification, while others offered only practical subjects such as modern languages, trade and bookkeeping, engineering and land surveying.

Many Scottish merchants went to the United Provinces as apprentices to learn their trade. George Watson was taught Italian bookkeeping. William Dunlop of Glasgow, who studied at Dordrecht in 1681, had five fellow Scots in his class all studying accounting and trade.[43] In 1683 Charles Erskine, John Erskine of Carnock's brother, sailed for Rotterdam 'to learn at Holland book-keeping and the languages.'[44] William (1681–1723) and Hugh Clerk, both nephews of John Clerk of

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[41] Willem Frijhoff, 'Het Amsterdamse Athenaeum in het Academische Landschap van de Zeventiende Eeuw', in: Haitsma-Mulier, *Athenaeum Illustre*, 37–65, 41–42.

[42] The *Alba Studiosorum* of the illustrious schools does not mention any Scots. F. Sassen, *Studenten van de Illustre School te 's-Hertogenbosch, 1636–1810: Ter Reconstructie van het Album Studiosorum* (Amsterdam, 1970); J. C. van Slee, *De Illustre School te Deventer 1830–1878* ('s-Gravenhage, 1916); J. W. te Winkel, *Album Scholasticum van het Athenaeum Illustre en van de Universiteit te Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1913); D. G. van Epen, *Album Scholasticum Gelro-Zutphanicae MDCXLVIII–MDCCCXVIII* ('s-Gravenhage, 1904). The impact of Dutch non-academic education on Scotland and the Scots in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries deserves further exploring.

[43] Richard Saville, *Bank of Scotland. A History 1695–1995* (Edinburgh, 1996), 9–10.

[44] Macleod, *Journal of the Hon. John Erskine*, 8.

Pennicuick, also went to the United Provinces to learn trade in 1700 and 1729 respectively. Upon his arrival in Rotterdam, William asked his father for permission to study French instead of Dutch. Having decided he no longer wanted to become a merchant, he went on to Leiden to study law, much to his father's dismay.[45] Hugh Clerk did study trade and became a successful merchant. He first studied at a school in Bleiswijk and after two months went on to Waalwijk where he met William Kerr, '[the] son of Lord Charles Kerr (d. 1735) [brother of the Marques of Lothian], who was prentice to Bailie Arbuthnot.' He studied French, bookkeeping, and arithmetic. In 1732, the merchant John Gordon wrote to John Drummond suggesting a change of 'Dutch school' for his nephew John (?) Hallyburton (d. 1754?), who was apparently learning trade.[46]

Like the illustrious schools, the Dutch universities were in the first place civic institutions founded by and serving the state rather than the Church. Leiden, the oldest, was established in 1575 at the height of the Dutch Revolt against Spain. Franeker was granted university status ten years later. As the University of Louvain in the Southern Netherlands was now closed to the Dutch, these new institutions were intended to educate the new Protestant republic's magistrates and ministers. The University of Groningen followed in 1614 to cater to the needs of the most northern Dutch provinces. The University of Utrecht was established in 1636. Having originally been a school rather than a university, it retained much of its municipal character. As a result, its administration and character differed significantly from that of the other universities. The University of Harderwijk was founded in 1647. It was the most recent of the Dutch universities and, like Utrecht, had originally been a school.[47] It lacked the international reputation for excellence of the other four universities and

[45] NAS, GD18/2307/11, 12, 18, 24, William Clerk to his father.

[46] NAS, 24/1/464/179. There was a merchant in Dundee called John Hallyburton, who died *c.* 1754.

[47] Between 1656 and 1679, there was a sixth university in the city of Nijmegen. It did not exist long enough to gain a reputation among foreign students. During the 23 years of existence, its degrees were never officially recognized by the Court of Guelders, as Harderwijk was supposed to be the only university in the province. Despite its semi-legal status, Nijmegen was the most progressive of the Dutch universities, boasting a host of eminent scholars. The University died a premature death when the French attacked the Dutch Republic in 1672 and occupied its southern provinces. Nijmegen closed its doors temporarily never to recover. In 1679 the University closed for good. See also: Van den Bergh, *The Life and Work of Gerard Noodt*, 20–21.

served more as a provincial college than as a university. Although it has recently undergone a reappraisal of its educational value for Dutch students, Harderwijk was not very successful in attracting foreign students except as a degree-granting body. Few Scots matriculated, except a handful of medical students who received their degrees but were not educated there.[48]

The Universities of Leiden, Franeker, Groningen and Harderwijk fell under direct authority of the Provincial States; Utrecht was controlled by the town council. Everywhere, the daily administration was largely in the universities' own hands and was controlled by two governing bodies, the curates and the Senate. The curates were the representatives of the Provincial States and the town, who controlled the universities' finances and supervised the appointment of professors. The Senate, together with the professors and the *rector magnificus* (the principal) supervised the student population.[49] The Senate also controlled the curriculum, deciding which texts and subjects were to be treated in the lectures during the academic year. Individual professors could offer private courses, which, to a certain extent, were outside the direct control of the Senate. In effect, the professors rather than the university authorities were responsible for the curriculum on offer.[50] As a result, the Dutch universities had a fair amount of institutional, but not financial, autonomy. They also held a number of privileges, which set them apart from the other academic institutions in the United Provinces, especially their main rivals the illustrious schools. Traditionally, the universities' most important right was the *jus promovendi*, which entitled them to grant degrees. This was often the only difference between the universities and the illustrious schools. Other privileges were exemptions from a number of taxes, most notably on salt, beer and wine, and military service. The universities also offered

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[48] O. Schutte, *Het Album Promotorum van de Academie te Harderwijk* (Arnhem, 1980). For this reason, the University of Harderwijk has been left out of this discussion. For recent work on Harderwijk, see for instance: J. A. H. Bots, *Het Gelders Athene: Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Gelderse Universiteit in Harderwijk (1648–1811)* (Hilversum, 2000), Liek Mulder, *Een Onderschatte Universiteit: 350 Jaar Gelderse Academie in Harderwijk* (Harderwijk, 1998), Remieg Aerts & Liesbeth Hoogkamp, *De Gelderse Pallas: Gymnasium Illustre, Gelderse Universiteit, Rijksathenaeum te Harderwijk 1600–1818* (Barneveld, 1986).

[49] W. Otterspeer, *De Wiekslag van hun Geest. De Leidse Universiteit in de Negentiende Eeuw* (Den Haag, 1992), 14–15.

[50] *Ibid.*, 15.

protection to its members from the law, and students fell under the Senate's own jurisdiction.

The seventeenth century was a defining age for the Dutch universities.[51] When the first universities were founded at Leiden and Franeker in the late sixteenth century, the Dutch authorities, despite their staunch Protestantism, intended them to be open and tolerant institutions in keeping with the ideals of the Dutch struggle for religious freedom and against Spanish oppression. The University of Leiden, in particular, held religious toleration and humanism in the highest regard. In its earliest days, some of Leiden's most famous minds were not even Protestant. The absence of an oath for students opened the universities to students of all religious denominations, although in actuality they almost exclusively attracted Protestants. John Erskine described his matriculation at the University of Leiden in his journal: 'The Rector enquired if I would take the colledge oath, but did not propose it by way of an oath, having only desired my promise that I should do or not do such things as he spoke of.'[52] Leiden quickly gained an international reputation, taking in refugees from the Spanish Netherlands, France, Germany, eastern Europe and even some Jews, despite initial problems with the recognition of its degrees. Until the early seventeenth century, Leiden degrees were not recognized in a number of Spanish Habsburg countries—Portugal, Spain and the Spanish Netherlands—for political reasons. In 1603 Pope Clement VIII (1536–1605) excommunicated all students at Leiden. Leiden graduates also faced problems in Lutheran countries and countries with which the United Provinces were at war. As late as 1682, Leiden's curates complained that the University's graduates still had problems having their degrees recognized in Denmark, Saxony and the Spanish United Provinces.[53] Franeker, Groningen and Utrecht experienced similar problems.

At the start of the seventeenth century, the toleration and international humanism at the Dutch universities came under attack from new, more staunchly Calvinist powers arriving on the political scene. This trend towards religious orthodoxy found its climax in a *coup d'etat*

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[51] For a more extensive overview of intellectual life in the United Provinces in the seventeenth centuries, see: Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 565–591, and *Idem, Radical Enlightenment. Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650–1750* (Oxford, 2001), 24–29.

[52] MacLeod, *Journal of the Hon. John Erskine*, 111.

[53] Molhuysen, *Bronnen der Leidsche Universiteit*, IV, Resoluties van Curatoren, '1682'.

in 1618 by Maurice, Prince of Orange (1567–1625) and Stadholder of Holland and Zeeland, which led directly to the Synod of Dordt and the famous argument between Arminians, or Remonstrants, and Contra-Remonstrants, or Gomarists. In the aftermath, the government of the Dutch provinces was purged of Arminian sympathizers, including the province of Holland's Grand Pensionary (*raadspensionaris*) Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (1586–1619) and its legal advisor and member of the States General, Hugo Grotius. The universities and illustrious schools also fell victim and a number of professors left or were dismissed. In the middle of these developments the Universities of Groningen and Utrecht were founded. They would become bulwarks of *Preciesheyt*, or strict orthodoxy, against Leiden's moderates (*Rekkelijken*).

After 1618, orthodox Calvinism came to dominate Dutch political and intellectual life. The divinity faculties were transformed into schools of Calvinist theology and became openly divided over matters of orthodoxy and split between those who followed Gijsbert Voetius and those who sided with his colleague at Leiden, Johannes Cocceius (1603–1669). But it was in the philosophy faculties that the real battle was fought out. The arrival of René Descartes (1596–1650) in the late 1620s in the United Provinces, and his New Philosophy, challenged the traditional Aristotelean philosophy and rocked to its core the orthodox Protestant theology, which was largely based on it. Soon a protracted dispute broke out between the supporters of the new Cartesian philosophy and its orthodox opponents led by Voetius. The Cartesian disputes divided the Dutch universities along 'party lines'. In 1643 Aristoteleanism was designated to be the official philosophy at Utrecht. Fronted by Voetius, the anti-Cartesian campaign was subsequently rolled out to the rest of the country, not only to the other Dutch universities, but also to the city, provincial and national governments. Voetian attempts at banning Cartesian works and ideas outside Utrecht failed, however. By the 1650s, a watered-down version of the New Philosophy, Cocceio-Cartesianism, was adopted at the University of Leiden. Significantly, in 1657 the States of Holland, convinced by the Grand Pensionary of Holland and leader of the province's ruling oligarchy, Johan de Witt, adopted an edict confirming the separation of philosophy and theology. This seems to have followed Descartes' proponent's argument that he had detached philosophy from theology while leaving the teachings of the Calvinist faith intact.[54] At the

[54] Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 894.

University of Utrecht, philosophy and theology remained closely connected under the ever-watchful eye of Voetius, whose influence would continue even after his death in 1676. The University never reached a Cartesian settlement; instead, Aristotelianism remained the official philosophy at Utrecht well into the eighteenth century.[55]

After the settlement at Leiden, the Cartesian controversy quietened down considerably, at least in the provinces of Holland and Zeeland, until the dramatic political events of the Year of Disaster, 1672, when the Dutch provinces were invaded by England, France, Munster and Cologne. Following the subsequent appointment of William III as Captain-General and Stadholder, the Voetian faction regained power.[56] Strict Calvinism came to dominate the divinity faculty at Leiden once again under the leadership of Professor Friedrich Spanheim (1632–1701). The Dutch Church, traditionally an ally of the House of Orange, took the opportunity to launch its own campaign against Cartesianism but also against the Cocceians who were accused of latitudinarianism and Erastianism. In 1676, the same year that Voetius died, the Leiden Senate, with William III's personal approval, promulgated a list of twenty-one theological propositions, drawn up by the Classis of Walcheren in Zeeland, which were prohibited from being taught, disputed, or dealt with within the University.[57] Cocceio-Cartesianism saw itself challenged and in turn launched an attack on radical Cartesianism. Nevertheless, despite William III's Voetian sympathies and the Church's attempts at interference, Cocceianism and Cartesianism remained an integral part of the Dutch philosophy curriculum. The Universities of Franeker and Groningen did not go as far as Leiden and Utrecht in their internal struggle over philosophical independence from theology.[58] Franeker in particular, where Descartes had matriculated as a student in 1629 and where Cocceius had begun his scholarly career, escaped most of the initial conflict due to the Cocceian stance of the Frisian Stadholder, Hendrik Casimir

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[55] Van Berkel, 'Descartes in Debat met Voetius', 23.

[56] Wout Troost, *Stadhouder-Koning Willem III. Een Politieke Biografie* (Hilversum, 2001), Ch. IV.

[57] Edward G. Ruestow, *Physics at Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Leiden: Philosophy and the New Science in the University* (The Hague, 1973), 77.

[58] Malcolm de Mowbray, 'Libertas Philosophandi. Wijsbegeerte in Groningen rond 1650', in: H. A Krop *et al.* (eds), *Zeer Kundige Professoren. Beoefening van de Filosofie in Groningen van 1614–1696* (Hilversum, 1997), 44–46.

(1664–1696).[59] Groningen, on the other hand, had sided with Voetius and the University of Utrecht in theological but not so much in philosophical matters.

For the Scots, the Cartesian disputes initially had a profound impact. Some played a direct part, such as the philosophy professor, David Stuart (1627–1669), who taught at the University of Leiden from 1661 until 1669 and who was an opponent of Cocceio-Cartesianism, and the exile ministers who were part of Voetius' circle and whose ideas contributed to the development and advancement of Calvinist orthodoxy. For students, Cocceio-Cartesian Leiden and Voetian Utrecht had different attractions, with exiles clearly preferring the latter. But many students were not very interested in these Dutch internal debates. Cartesianism had been part of the Scottish curriculum since the later seventeenth century, which meant that the Scots were less concerned with these issues than the Dutch. They were certainly aware of the different 'factions' but were more concerned with the threat of heterodoxy. In 1688, Edmund Calamy wrote: 'The main differences then in the University [of Utrecht] were about the old philosophy and the new, and between the Cocceians and the Voetians'.[60] Around 1700, Robert Wodrow's correspondents still frequently mentioned the two 'factions'.[61] Even as late as 1728, Alexander Boswell, Lord Auchinleck (1706–1782) noted the difference between Voetians and Cocceians at the University of Leiden in a letter to Charles Mackie. The latter, he wrote, 'are the most numerous at this university'.[62]

Although the Cartesian and Cocceian disputes had a lasting impact on the Dutch universities, they came out at the other side as some of the most progressive and modern institutions in Protestant Europe. By the end of the seventeenth century, they had significantly changed from the institutions many Scots had attended as exiles. The Leiden promulgation of 1676 and the resulting detachment of the philosophy faculty from divinity allowed Cartesianism to be taught freely despite

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[59] Sybrand Haije Michiel Galama, *Het Wijsgerig Onderwijs aan de Hogeschool te Franeker 1585–1811* (Franeker, 1954), 224–225. This is confirmed by the Franeker philosophy disputations, which show specific references to a mechanistic and rational philosophy. See: F. Postma & J. van Sluis (eds), *Auditorium Academiae Franekerensis. Bibliographie der Reden, Disputationen und Gelegenheitsdruckwerke der Universität and des Athenäums in Franeker 1585–1843* (Leeuwarden, 1995).

[60] Calamy, Historical Account, 157.

[61] Sharp, *Early Letters of Robert Wodrow*.

[62] EUL, La.II.91/60, Alexander Boswell to Charles Mackie.

the Voetian campaigns. Much less controversially, the New Philosophy found a counterpart in the New Science of the late seventeenth century. The renewal in the sciences brought about by the European Scientific Revolution introduced empirical methods and Newtonianism to the curriculum. Both the philological and the New Philosophical parts of the philosophy curriculum, including mathematics, physics, pneumatics, medicine and its related disciplines of chemistry and botany, were deeply affected. Mathematics, physics, astronomy and geography benefited greatly from Newton's discoveries, as did experimental optics. By the late 1680s a dramatic transformation of Dutch intellectual life had taken place. Around the same time, large numbers of Huguenot intellectuals began to arrive in the United Provinces. As scholars, journalists and publishers, they would contribute to the rapid distribution of this 'major intellectual transformation,' both within the United Provinces and abroad.[63] The emergence of a novel type of publication, the French learned journal, introduced and run by the Huguenot International, ensured a new and rapid way of disseminating information and learned ideas, changing the Republic of Letters into a Republic of Journals.[64] French publishers and booksellers became a common sight and the increasing French presence also was to have a profound effect on the arts and sciences, in particular on Dutch literature and historical writing.[65]

To the Scots, the Dutch universities provided them with a model for what their own institutions might look like. Having been founded on humanist principles, the Dutch universities held the classics in high regard and favored Latin as the language of the literary and the academic world. This was closely bound up with the importance attached to Roman law, which was considered not only the basis for the Dutch legal system but for the entire Dutch state. Dutch magistrates were trained in the classics for this reason. The humanist and civic nature of the Dutch universities survived the Cartesian disputes and French imperialism. How all this looked to an outsider was illustrated by

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[63] Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 932.

[64] For the development of the learned journal see Harcourt Brown, 'History and the Learned Journal', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 33, no. 3, Festschrift for Philip P. Wiener (Jul.–Sep. 1972), 365–378.

[65] Wijnand W. Mijnhardt, 'Dutch Culture in the Age of William and Mary: Cosmopolitan or Provincial?', in: Hoak Feingold, *The World of William and Mary*, 219–234, 226.

Sir William Temple (1628–1699), the English ambassador at The Hague, when, in 1672, he described the Dutch and their universities in his *Observations Upon the United Provinces* of the United Provinces: 'Their Youth are generally bred up at Schools, and at the Universities of Leyden or Utrecht, in the common studies of Human Learning, but chiefly of the Civil Law, which is that of their Countrey […].'[66] Temple was clearly taken with the humanist and civic nature of the Dutch universities. Most Scots would have felt the same way.

The Curriculum

The academic year began in February, at the start of which new students had to matriculate. A student was registered twice, once with the university's principal in the *Album Rectorum*, and once for administrative purposes with a university official called the *pedel* in the *Album Minor*, where they recorded their nationality, faculty and date of matriculation.[67] The names of returning students were entered into a *recessie* book.[68] Although relatively few Scottish students matriculated, they do appear to have followed the academic year, either starting their classes in February or after the summer vacation in September, when the second term began. All teaching was done in Latin and was divided between lectures and disputations, both taught by specialized professors. For the Scots, who were used to a system of regents—non-specialized teachers who took a single class through the entire university curriculum—and few specialized chairs, this was arguably the most attractive feature of the Dutch universities. In the United Provinces, Scots had the opportunity to choose their professors according to their own interests, which explains the popularity of certain

[66] William Temple, *Observations Upon the United Provinces of the United Provinces*, ed. George Clark (Oxford, 1972; 1st ed. 1672), 83.

[67] The *pedel* was the university's mace-bearer of beadle and was charged, amongst other things, with matriculation.

[68] Only the recessie books of the University of Leiden actually survive. RUL, Cur. 245–294, Registers van op Kamerswonende Studenten. See also GAL, Stadsarchief II.7284 e.v., Recensierollen. Cf. Van Strien, 'Schotse Studenten in Leiden'. Scottish students usually registered as Scotus. After the Union this usually became Scotus-Britannus though some students were just Britannus. A third group registered as Hibernus. These were probably Ulster Scots and have not been included in the analysis. E. Mijers, 'Irish Students in The Netherlands, 1650–1750', *Archivum Hibernicum*, LIX (2005), 66–78.

individuals. The lectures were public and offered a detailed discussion of a particular part of the three higher faculties' main textbooks—the Bible for divinity students, the *Corpus Juris*, including the *Digests* and the *Institutes* for law students and Hippocrates and Galen for medical students—and the most important commentators, both ancient and contemporary. There was no standard text for philosophy.

In addition to the public lectures, weekly disputations were held, the *disputationes sub praeside*. During these, students defended a number of theses to their fellow students and in proper logical form, which had usually been written by their professor. Disputations were led by a *praeses* and involved a *respondent* and an *opponent* who each argued opposing sides until the latter was convinced by the former's argument, or was simply polite enough to stop. This method of disputation was especially important in the law faculties, but also in divinity and philosophy. In medicine, however, it had become almost obsolete by the early eighteenth century. At times, disputations were used to address controversial topics, or even to launch attacks against adversaries. Another type of disputation, the *disputatio pro gradu*, was the conclusion of a Dutch degree, which was usually written by the student himself and concluded by a number of *corralaria*. These were typically defended in public, although by the late seventeenth century they were also held in private, depending on the expected success of the candidate. Over the course of the seventeenth century, the public lectures came to be supplemented by private *collegia*, whose topics were chosen almost entirely at the professors' discretion. Private *colleges* were generally not advertised, as they catered to the specific needs of groups of students, and sometimes individuals. They were not covered by the matriculation fee and the professors set their own prices for tuition. As a result, they could be very costly, depending on the reputation of the professor and on the number and wealth of the students he taught. Rich students often received tutoring, privately or in a group. David, Lord Balgonie (1722–1802), for instance, took private *colleges* in law at Groningen in 1741 with about half a dozen friends and other fellow countrymen.[69]

Aside from the official lectures, classes and disputations, the Dutch universities also offered a number of subjects that were not part of the curriculum as such, but did contribute to the students' overall

[69] GD26/13/613/1, 2, David, Lord Balgonie to Charles Mackie.

education. Subjects such as history, geography and especially modern languages were partly taught by *lectores* or extraordinary professors and did not always appear on the official curriculum. For example, Sir John Clerk of Penicuick learned Italian from a master; George Mackenzie of Delvine (1685–1766) employed 'a Parisan' to teach him the language; and Sir John Grahame of Gartmore, and several others with him, stayed in a French pension to learn the language.[70] Charles Mackie probably also learned some French from his French landlord in Groningen. In Leiden, mathematics and geometry and their related subjects of (military) engineering, fortification and architecture had for some time been taught in Dutch at the *Hollandsche School* for military engineering. Several Scots registered as mathematics students before 1681.[71] After its closure that year these subjects appeared off and on on the curriculum although they were also often taught by a *lector*. Anatomical dissections, experiments in chemistry and physics and astronomical demonstrations as well were not always part of the standard program of studies, but were often held before a much wider, non-academic, public.[72] A number of academic facilities were open to students including the university library, the observatory, the botanical garden, and the riding school. The latter was an important institution. It not only taught the students riding and vaulting, but also offered classes in such polite pursuits as dancing and fencing, as well as drawing and geometry, none of which were covered by the matriculation fee and for which students had to pay separately. The accounts of Andrew Wauchope of Niddry (1711–1784), who studied law at Leiden and possibly also at Utrecht from 1722 until 1725, reveal numerous entries for music, mathematics, chess, dancing, fencing and 'riding in the Academy'.[73]

A closer look at the specific program of studies casts a clearer light on the education of the Scottish students who attended the Dutch universities between 1681 and 1730 and what they got out of it. Although the majority of the Scottish students did not follow the entire curriculum but spent anywhere from only a few months to a few years at a Dutch university, a detailed analysis of the published curriculum,

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[70] Van Strien & Ahsmann, 'Scottish Students in Leiden', 301, NLS, Delvine Papers, Ms 1118, NAS, GD22/3/714.
[71] See the Appendix.
[72] Rupp, 'Matters of Life and Death', 264.
[73] NAS, GD247/177/6/11–18.

the *series lectionum*, puts the education of the Scottish students in the United Provinces into context. Scots as a group behaved in many ways like Dutch students, especially after 1700. The training of the Dutch patricians, who made up the majority of the Dutch students, has been explored extensively by Willem Frijhoff. Referring to the preferred education of the Dutch elite, which was 'broad, but not deep', he stressed the importance of socializing (*socialisatiewaarde*).[74] Politeness and sociability were considered more useful than actual scholarly knowledge or a university degree, for that matter. Few obtained a degree. As a result, Dutch students on average only spent 2.3 years at university, not much longer than the average Scot who had already been educated at home.[75] Moreover, the degrees from the four faculties carried the same weight; it was not necessary to first obtain a degree in philosophy, which officially took 2.5 years to complete. Degrees in one of the three higher faculties were not bound to any time span at all.[76] For many students, both Dutch and Scottish, the law faculty, supplemented by certain subjects from the philosophy faculty such as history, was deemed the most suitable faculty gaining a broad, civic education.[77] Echoing Sir William Temple, an obviously impressed William Mure of Glanderstone (afterwards of Caldwell) (d. 1722), made a note in his travel account of his visit to the University of Leiden in 1696 'where are universities for all professions'.[78] By the early eighteenth century, Scottish students were following a clear trend towards a broad and polite education. As a student, George Bogle of Daldowie (1700–1784), the future Rector of Glasgow, wrote an impassioned plea to his father about the need for 'a liberal and generous education' for everyone, rallying against 'the opinion of some people [that] unless a man has a mind to study divinity, law or physic that he should not go to any college to learn his Greek and philosophy'.[79] The notable exception,

[74] Frijhoff, 'Opleiding en Wetenschappelijke Belangstelling', 11.
[75] Frijhoff, *La Société Neérlandaise et ses Gradués*, 38.
[76] *Ibid.*, 42, 47.
[77] Frijhoff, 'Opleiding en Wetenschappelijke Belangstelling van het Nederlandse Regentenpatriaat', 7.
[78] 'Ane Account of my Travells in the Years 1696', *Selections from the Family Papers Preserved at Caldwell*, I (Glasgow, 1854), 170–223.
[79] Mitchell Library Glasgow, Bogle Papers, George Bogle Letterbook (1725–1727) Nr. 22, George Bogle to his father. With thanks to Kees van Strien.

as was the case with Dutch students, was the discipline of medicine, which is confirmed by the relatively high number of degrees.

Not all *series lectionum* have survived but the ones that have, from Leiden, Utrecht and Franeker, give a fair indication of what was on offer.[80] They were usually publicly posted at the start of every term in January–February and in September, and generally listed the public lectures per professor, giving a brief description of the course contents. In Leiden, the *collegia privata* were no longer being advertised by 1670, although it was made clear that they were available at the students' request ('*ad desideria studiosorum*').[81] In Utrecht, on the other hand, the *exercitia publica & privata* were listed on the *series*, after the public lectures. There does not appear to have been a standard order to the way the different subjects were organized. Each faculty offered two to four lectures every day from Monday to Saturday. Some subjects were strictly offered in summer, most notably botany and herbal medicine, whereas anatomical dissections were usually only performed in winter. Fortunately many Scottish students in their correspondence with family and friends kept a record of their university careers, including their subjects, providing a better insight into their experiences.

The Dutch curriculum, like its Scottish counterpart, relied heavily on the classics but, unlike the Scottish universities, it was organized along much stricter and more uniform lines. The Dutch philosophy faculties offered a broad humanist program with an emphasis on the philological-historical tradition in the arts and on the classics in all the courses, including the natural sciences. The subjects on offer included classical languages and rhetoric, pulpit oratory, universal history and geography, oriental languages—usually those of the polyglot Bibles,

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[80] The *series lectionum* of the University of Leiden have been reproduced in Molhuysen, *Bronnen der Leidsche Universiteit*, III–V, 'Resoluties der Curatoren'. The only surviving Utrecht *series* from the seventeenth century date from 1656 and 1672. The earliest eighteenth century *series* date from 1768, see: Koert van der Horst, 'De Tweede Vroegste *Series Lectionum* van de Utrechtse Universiteit: 1656 en 1672', in: *Idem et al.* (ed.), *Over Beesten en Boeken. Opstellen over de Geschiedenis van de Diergeneeskunde en de Boekwetenschap* (Rotterdam, 1995), 261–282, Kernkamp, *Acta et Decreta*, III, 612–615. The earliest *series* from Groningen, dated 1647, 1721 and 1729, have been reproduced in: Paul Dibon, 'Le *Schema Lectionum Publicarum* de 1647', *Quaerendo* (1977), 58–65, and *Series Lectionum 1647–1972. Rijksuniversiteit Groningen* (Groningen, n.d.).

[81] Molhuysen, *Bronnen der Leidsche Universiteit*, III–V, 'Resoluties der Curatoren'. J. J. Woltjer, *De Leidse Universiteit in Verleden en Heden* (Leiden, 1965), 31.

Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic and sometimes Persian and Coptic—logic and metaphysics, moral philosophy, politics, mathematics, geometry, military engineering, astronomy, optics, empirical physics and chemistry. Still, change was afoot. The traditional 'union' of philology, mathematics and theology had come under threat with the arrival of Cartesianism and the protracted but ultimately unsuccessful Voetian campaign to stop it.[82] In the aftermath of the Cartesian controversies, philosophy was established as a 'true science' with a status to match. It was separating from the philological-historical tradition, a development that was to reach its completion in the course of the eighteenth century.[83] In addition, the advance of an increasing French influence on the Dutch universities had a profound effect on the Faculties of Philosophy, as well as on the other faculties. By the early eighteenth century, a split was becoming apparent between those subjects which absorbed the French scholarship, most notably law and moral philosophy and logic and metaphysics, and those which continued to adhere to the philological-historical tradition such as history and the classics, subsequently began to fall behind.

The *series lectionum* of the University of Leiden in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries clearly show the beginning of the separation between (Cartesian) physics and mathematics on the one hand and history and languages on the other. At the same time, sciences such as chemistry and practical physics were moving increasingly closer to medicine, as many professors now taught in both faculties. In 1681, the Leiden Senate officially stipulated that the Faculty of Medicine was to include a Professor of Chemistry.[84] The University of Utrecht lagged behind Leiden in these developments. The lasting Voetian influence can be discerned from the overlap between philosophy and divinity. The surviving *series lectionum* show a much more conservative teaching program which continued to adhere to the traditional philosophy of Aristotle. The Voetian standpoint was represented by the theologians Matthias Nethenus (1618–1686); Petrus van Mastricht (1630–1706), Voetius' successor; Melchior Leydekker (1642–1721) and the Professor of Philosophy, Gerard de Vries (1648–1705).[85]

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[82] Paul Dibon, 'Le *Schema Lectionum Publicarum* de 1647', 64.

[83] Rienk Vermij, *The Calvinist Copernicans. The Reception of the New Astronomy in the Dutch Republic, 1575–1750* (Amsterdam, 2002), 157–158.

[84] Molhuysen, *Bronnen der Leidsche Universiteit*, 365.

[85] Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, 28.

While the University of Utrecht continued to defend Aristotelean philosophy, Leiden underwent a further development during the period 1680–1730, from a non-committal (Cocceio-)Cartesianism to an increasingly stronger emphasis on mathematics, experimental physics, pneumatics and astronomy. The Professors Burchard De Volder (1643–1709) and Wolferdus Senguerdius (1646–1724) no longer taught strictly from textbooks but also conducted experiments and practicals in the University's *theatrum physicum* and *theatrum astronomicum*.[86] Some of the works of Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727) were introduced by De Volder after a visit to England in the 1670s. Senguerdius, on the other hand, vehemently denied the validity of Newton's discoveries and continued to teach Aristotle's philosophy and metaphysics as part of his course on the 'controversial problems' of philosophy, alongside Cartesianism, until the late 1690s.[87] Mathematics took an important place both as a discipline in its own right and as an auxiliary subject to physics and astronomy, chemistry and medicine.[88] In 1693, the famous mathematician and Professor of Astronomy at Oxford and friend of Isaac Newton, the Scot David Gregory (1661–1708), visited the United Provinces and bought books in Amsterdam.[89] Judging by the papers that recorded his trip, he was especially interested in the achievements of the Dutch mathematicians at Leiden and at the *athenaeum* of Amsterdam. He met the scientist Christiaan Huygens (1629–1695) and a number of students of the Scottish medic Archibald Pitcairne, took notes and acquired books on mathematics and its applications such as fortification and (military) architecture and medicine.[90] In the early 1720s, three Scots again registered as mathematics students. These may have been some of Boerhaave's men as well.

Newtonianism was wholeheartedly embraced by Leiden in the early eighteenth century. In 1717 the lawyer and self-taught scientist Willem Jacob 's Gravesande (1688–1742) was appointed Professor of

[86] De Volder visited England before the publication of the *Principia* and only introduced Newton's earlier work on mathematics and optics.

[87] For a detailed description of the scientific arguments between the Leiden Cartesians and their opponents, in particular Senguerdius' anti-Cartesian efforts, see: Ruestow, *Physics at Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Leiden*, Ch. V.

[88] Vermij, *The Calvinist Copernicans*, 18–26.

[89] For the story of Gregory's 'trial', see EUL, Gregory Papers, Dk1.2 and R. K. Hannay, 'The Visitation of the College of Edinburgh in 1690', in *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* (Edinburgh, 1916), 79–100. Cf. Mijers, 'The Netherlands, William Carstares and the Reform of Edinburgh University', 115–121.

[90] EUL, Gregory Papers, Dk.1.2.

Astronomy and Mathematics. 's Gravesande, a convinced Newtonian, was a member of the Royal Society in London and knew Newton personally. Apart from his own subjects, he also taught experimental physics after Senguerdius' death in 1724, as well as civil and military engineering. Moreover, 's Gravesande's Newtonian influence extended well beyond the University of Leiden.[91] Chemistry and experimental physics were also greatly influenced by Newton's discoveries. They were closely associated with the medical curriculum, and the famous Professors of Medicine, Francois de la Boë Sylvius (1614–72), Carolus Drelincourt (1633–1697), Jacobus Le Mort (1650–1718) and Boerhaave, also taught chemistry.

Leiden's philological-historical tradition was represented in the late seventeenth century by two new Professors of Classics, Jacobus Gronovius (1645–1716), the son of the famous humanist scholar Johannes Fredericus Gronovius (1611–1671), and Jacob Perizonius (1651–1715). They continued another one of the Dutch academic traditions, which came under attack partly as a result of the New Philosophy. Gronovius, Perizonius and his immediate successor Pieter Burman (1668–1741) were involved in a vigorous defence of Latin as the sole language of learning against a rapidly expanding French cultural and intellectual imperialism.[92] The growing European-wide taste for all things French, combined with the presence in the United Provinces of many French Huguenot refugees, certainly saw an early and rapid rise in French cultural and scholarly influences. Already in 1685, William Carstares, while in exile, recalled meeting a 'Popish minister' in Aikin [Aachen] during his tour of the United Provinces and Flanders, who told him 'about the decay of the Latin tongue and the encrease of the French.'[93] Ironically enough, it would be these same dreaded French influences that would be partly responsible for the continuation of the steady flow of Scottish students to the Dutch universities in the eighteenth century as they came to seek French politeness and learning.

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[91] Voltaire, for example, was familiar with the work of 's Gravesande and of his later colleague Van Musschenbroek. Voltaire, Eléments de la Philosophie de Newton, *The Complete Works of Voltaire*, 15, eds Robert L. Walters & W. H. Barber, (Oxford, 1992), 44, 46. With thanks to Roger Emerson.

[92] Th. I. Meijer, *Kritiek als Herwaardering. Het Levenswerk van Jacob Perizonius* (1651–1715) (Leiden, 1971), 107–108.

[93] 'Journal of the Principal Carstairs in Holland and Flanders in 1685', *Caldwell Papers*, 144–169, 151.

Aside from their polemical rejection of French scholarship, Gronovius and especially Perizonius made substantial contributions to the teaching of history as an academic discipline, paving the way for their successors, the popular Professor of History Pieter Burman and his colleague Tiberius Hemsterhuis (1685–1766), the founder of the *Schola Hemsterhusiana* of classical study. Gronovius taught Roman history based on Roman historians such as Polybius, Livy and Tacitus, and gave a weekly lecture on one of the books of the New Testament.[94] Perizonius gave lectures on ancient history, emphasizing the contemporary aspects of Greek and Roman civilization. He talked about the political, military and 'private' achievements ('*disciplinam Politicam, Militarem ac Privatam*') of classical civilization as displayed by the cities of Athens and Sparta and the Roman Republic. He also taught contemporary history and, after 1700, dedicated one day a week to the history of Holland. Perizonius' successor Burman continued his lectures and became the first Professor of Dutch History (*Geschiedenis der Vereenigde Nederlanden*). His colleague Siwart Haverkamp (1684–1742) taught classical languages, mainly Greek and antiquities, and, as one Scottish student noted, also gave a private college on medals.[95] Despite Burman's appointment, the anti-French movement was fighting a losing battle. By the 1720s, the French language, fashions and literature had overtaken the humanist methods and Latin as the language of learning, although French did not appear on the curriculum until much later. Scottish students who wished to learn this had to resort to private lessons with a French 'master' or stay with a French landlord. The first university where the French influence became clearly noticeable as an attraction for Scottish students was the University of Groningen in the 1720s and 1730s. Charles Mackie had been one of the first Scots to attend this university in 1705. While few of the French professors that would attract the Scots had yet arrived, he was introduced to the language and may have developed his interest in French learned journals there. He was certainly responsible for encouraging a number of Scottish students to attend there after his appointment in 1719.

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[94] Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot der Leidsche Universiteit*, III, IV, 'Resoluties der Curatoren'. RUU, Hs 1666 (7.F28–9).

[95] EUL, La.II.91c/6, Andrew Mitchell to Charles Mackie. Medals were useful to *virtuoso* collectors but also to historians and those interested in art.

Compared to Leiden, the curriculum of the University of Utrecht was a great deal more conservative, even orthodox in its teaching. The Voetian domination of the Faculties of Divinity and Philosophy continued until long after his death in 1676. In its heyday, the Voetian faction included the entire corps of professors, as well as the majority of the Senate and the town council. Firmly allied with the House of Orange and its supporters, Voetius and his circle advocated orthodox theology and Aristotlean philosophy as opposed to the more lenient views of the Holland regents and many of the members of the anti-Orangist 'States' party. In 1656, six of the seven philosophy professors belonged to the Voetian faction.[96] By the late 1660s, however, Voetius' influence appeared to be waning outside the University. The appointment in 1664 of the staunch Cocceio-Cartesian, Ludwig von Wolzogen (1633–1690), as Extraordinary Professor of Ecclesiastical History, followed in 1670 by his appointment as ordinary professor, illustrates this development. By 1672 the number of Voetius' supporters in the philosophy and divinity faculties had been reduced to two, although the French invasion of that same year temporarily gave the Voetian faction fresh support.[97] Still, even if the philosophy faculty of the University of Utrecht did not appoint any Cartesians until well into the eighteenth century, the influence of the New Philosophy throughout the different faculties was becoming increasingly felt.

When comparing the Utrecht *series lectionum* of 1672 with the closest surviving Leiden *series* of 1671, a number of differences become clear. The Leiden program shows a distinctly Cartesian influence with a strong emphasis on mathematics. Professor Christianus Melder (1660–1673) gave lectures on Descartes' dioptrics, Carolus De Maets (d. 1690) held demonstrations in chemistry, Theodorus Craanen (1620–1690) included a discussion on the mechanic principles, Pieter Van Schooten's (1734–1679) mathematics lectures talked about the concept of perspective, and De Volder's lectures on physics utilized the empirical method which Descartes had not scorned.[98] The Utrecht *series* of 1672 only offered a physics class by Johannes De Bruyn (1620–1675) and a Dutch mathematics class by Hugo Ruys (d. 1664), supplemented by a number of private *colleges*. The difference with Leiden is quite

[96] Van der Horst, *Vroegste Series Lectionum*, 268.
[97] *Passim.*
[98] Molhuysen, *Bronnen der Leidsche Universiteit* III, 'Resoluties der Curatoren', 236–237, Van der Horst, *Vroegste Series Lectionum*, 276–282.

striking, especially when further assessing the philosophy and divinity courses. The connection between the two subjects appears to be still much closer than was the case in Leiden around the same time. At Utrecht there was one Professor of History, Johannes Graevius (1632–1703), and one Professor of Greek and Hebrew, Johannes Leusden (1624–1675). Two years later the theologian Gerard de Vries, a former pupil of Voetius, was appointed as Professor of Philosophy, and, in 1685, as Extraordinary Professor of Divinity. He lectured on metaphysics and ethics and appears to have included some politics, then considered to be part of ethics. In 1686, John Erskine noted that he specifically treated Britain, which may have been a concession to the many exiles in Utrecht, although apparently 'he was sometimes partial, or at best not well informed'.[99] Leusden taught Hebrew and philology in 1672 from biblical psalms, which were important aids to theology. Many of the private *colleges* concentrated on such subjects as exegesis, theology, church history, biblical and oriental languages and pulpit oratory and preaching. There was also a public disputation collegium on Descartes' *Principia Philosophiae* (Amsterdam 1644), which may suggest that Voetius was fighting a losing battle. The Cartesian stance was represented by the Professor of Medicine Henricus Regius (1598–1679) and the Cocceio-Cartesian Professor of Law Cyprianus Regneri ab Oosterga (1614–1687). It would appear that by the early 1680s Utrecht was slowly starting to catch up with Leiden.[100] In 1685–6 John Erskine attended 'Laytt's [Johannes Luytt (1655–1721), Professor of Physics and Mathematics] Astronomy lesson'. It would take a long time, but in 1723 Petrus van Musschenbroek (1692–1761), who went on to become one of the foremost Dutch Newtonians, was appointed Professor of Mathematics and Philosophy.[101]

Apart from its obvious conservatism in philosophy and divinity and its tradition of close scholarly connections with Scotland dating back to Voetius' days and seemingly continued by his pupil, Leusden, Utrecht's appeal for Scottish students in the late seventeenth century also lay in its traditional history and language teaching. While it had only one history professor, this was none other than the formidable

[99] Macleod, *Journal of the Hon. John Erskine*, 208.
[100] *Ibid*., 198.
[101] In the first surviving eighteenth century *series lectionum* from 1768, Utrecht appears to have embraced the empirical method whole-heartedly. Cf. '*Series Lectionum* 1st Semester 1768', in: Kernkamp, *Acta et Decreta*, III, 612–615.

Johannes Graevius, the author of a famous *Thesaurus* that many Scots, including Sir John Clerk of Penicuick and Charles Mackie, described.[102] He taught history, eloquentia and politics until his death in 1703. In 1696 he was joined by Burman, who moved to Leiden in 1715. Biblical languages were taught by Johannes Leusden and Hadrianus Reland (1676–1718). Although initially an auxiliary discipline to theology, they greatly appealed to any student with antiquarian interests, such as lawyers and historians. Utrecht could hold its own against Leiden in these departments and this explains why it was so popular with Scottish tutors such as Alexander Cunningham of Block and John Mitchell and their aristocratic pupils in the 1690s, and why Charles Morthland (c.1680–1744), the Professor of Oriental Languages at the University of Glasgow, went there to brush up on his Hebrew after his appointment in 1709. Utrecht's adherence to the philological-historical method remained attractive, especially to aristocratic students.

Although philosophy was the preparatory faculty, there was nothing to stop students from entering one of the higher faculties directly. Attracted by the broader program on offer, many Scots, just like the sons of the Dutch regents, entered the law faculties in search of a more general, polite education. The seventeenth century was the golden age of Dutch law, which, like Scottish law, was based on Roman law. The French universities had boasted the most important legal minds in the sixteenth century but in the seventeenth century the Dutch universities, headed by Leiden, had taken over this position. Everard Bronchorst (1554–1627), Arnold Vinnius (1588–1657), Johannes Voet (1647–1713) and, although never a university professor, Hugo Grotius, were some of the most famous Dutch jurists of the late sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century. Law students had a choice of courses in civil, public, international, and, later, contemporary law. Canon law was taught in the Faculty of Divinity.

Roman law provided the basis for the law curriculum, complemented with the works of the great humanist and contemporary commentators. Students were taught from the *Corpus Iuris*, most notably the *Institutes* and the *Digests* or *Pandects*, which were clarified with the aid of classical texts and modern commentators, including Grotius. The Dutch law faculties had a strong preference for the philological-historical tradition, as both the Leiden and the Utrecht *series lectionum*

[102] NAS, GD18/5197/7, John Clerk to his father. EUL, La.II.90, 91.

show. The Dutch Elegant School of Law continued the humanist tradition of a sound knowledge of the classics and text criticism and applied this to the study of law. Its representatives attracted students from all over Europe.[103] The law faculty of the University of Leiden was one of the most successful in Europe in the late seventeenth century, and the compendia and textbooks written by its scholars became the leading manuals at many foreign universities, including the Scottish ones. Nevertheless, in 1692, Professors Antonius Matthaeus (1635–1710), Johannes Voet, Phillipus Reinardus Vitriarius (1647–1725) and Noodt felt their Faculty was in decline.[104] The students lacked motivation and some of the most popular professors were corrupt, ensuring their students quick and easy degrees, sometimes within one year. Most important of all, students no longer had the necessary knowledge of the classics to be able to read the *Digests*, the *Institutes* and the rest of the *Codex Justinianus*.[105] Philology and a sound knowledge of classical antiquity were deemed essential to the Dutch Elegant School.[106] As a result of the Faculty's concerns, the curates of the University decided upon a compulsory course in philosophy as well as a second exam for law students in the history, literature and politics of the Roman monarchy and republic and the history of law since the Reformation.[107] The classics professors, Gronovius and the newly-appointed Perizonius, were to fill this gap in the law curriculum. The Dutch law curriculum was traditionally famous for offering both an academic and a practical legal training, yet the curricular reform of 1692 and the influence of the Dutch Elegant School put more stress on the scholarly disciplines of history and philology. The Leiden *series* show the traditional pattern, which had been followed at that university since its foundation in 1575. There were four professors who each taught a different part of the *Corpus Iuris*—the *Institutes*, the *Digest*, and the constitutions of the *Codex Justinianus*—as well as on contemporary, and later on,

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[103] Cf. Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham's Proposed Edition of the Digest', 307–59.

[104] Molhuysen, *Bronnen der Leidsche Universiteit*, IV, 'Resoluties der Curatoren', 32–33.

[105] M. Siegenbeek, *Geschiedenis der Leidsche Hoogeschool*, I (Leiden, 1829), 242–243.

[106] For Noodt's application of the philological-historical method, the so-called *Methodus Noodtiana*, see: Van den Bergh, *The Life and Work of Gerard Noodt*, Ch. III, especially 133–135. Cf. Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham's Proposed Edition of the Digest'.

[107] Siegenbeek, *Geschiedenis der Leidsche Hoogeschool*, 246. Leiden went ahead with its reform despite protests by the University of Utrecht. Cf. Van den Bergh, *The Life and Work of Gerard Noodt*, 271–274.

public and international law.[108] The study of the *Institutes* and the *Digests* was supplemented by Gronovius', Perizonius' and Burman's courses on classical antiquity, subjects that Charles Mackie would copy at Edinburgh. Other law courses on offer in Leiden during the period 1680–1730 were international law and public law. International law was taught from Grotius' *De Jure Belli Ac Pacis*, and was a popular subject with Scottish students, who tended to take it as a private college.[109]

Public law had first been introduced to the Leiden law curriculum in the late 1660s by Professor Adriaan Beeckerts van Thienen (1623–1669).[110] His successors were Johann Friedrich Boeckelmann, who also taught Roman and international law, and Gerard Noodt. Boeckelmann was responsible for introducing his *methodus compendaria*, which had a profound effect on the shape and content of the law curriculum. He argued that the law curriculum should not take more than four years to complete and should concentrate on a systematic and efficient study of the *Institutes* (first two years), the *jus controversum* and feudal law from his own compendium, and from the *Institutes* and the *Digest*.[111] Only afterwards would it be useful to hold student disputations. Legal theorists and commentators such as François Hotman (1524–1590) and Hugo Donellus (1527–1591) and practical cases were to be studied in the students' own time.[112] Boeckelmann's method was continued by Johannes Voet, one of the most important law professors in late seventeenth-century Leiden. In his lectures, Voet treated Roman law alongside contemporary law, as he did, for instance, in his textbook on the *Digests*, the *Commentarius ad Pandectas*. Both Boeckelmann's and Voet's compendia became very popular with Scottish students, both in the United Provinces and in Scotland. Public law drew heavily on both natural and German public law. In 1682, Philippus Reinhardus Vitrarius was appointed to the Faculty of Law, specializing in German

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[108] Cf. Van Strien & Ahsmann, 'Scottish Law Students in Leiden', 288.

[109] It has been suggested that towards the end of the seventeenth century, Scottish law students at Leiden were able to take private *colleges* on Scots law. No proof has been found for this though. Feenstra & Waal, *Seventeenth-Century Leyden Law Professors*, 85.

[110] Public law was separate from Roman law as it dealt with the constitution and the state.

[111] Feenstra & Waal, *Seventeenth Century Leyden Law Professors*, 36.

[112] R. Feenstra, 'Johann Friedrich Böckelmann (1632–1681). Een Markant Leids Hoogleraar in de Rechten', in: S. Groenveld *et al.* (ed.), *Bestuurders en Geleerden* (Amsterdam, 1985), 137–151, 141–142.

jurisprudence. He was succeeded in 1719 by his son Johannes Jacobus Vitriarius (1679–1745), who became extremely popular with students from Scotland.

The education of Scottish law students in the United Provinces is well documented.[113] The correspondence of George Mackenzie, the son of the lawyer John Mackenzie of Delvine (d. 1731), gives an insight into a Scottish law student's life and studies at a Dutch university, in this case Leiden.[114] Having arrived in Leiden in September 1707, Mackenzie seems to have followed Boeckelmann's and the Dutch Elegant School's methods closely. He was introduced to Johannes Voet by his tutor Alexander Cunningham, and appears to have been a model student, at least according to the letters he wrote to his father:

> In the morning precisely by 6 o clock I rise & reads till 8 what Vout commended on the Day before that to 10 I read what he is to speak on that day using Vinnius his notes & Commentary with Vout his own Commentary on the institutes, at 10 I goe to my Colledge & upon my return I read over what he explained […], from 1 to 2 or sometimes to 3 I walk or hears Perizonius his publick Colledges […] from 7 to 10 I read over what was last explained in the Institutes & on Saturday I read over all I went through all the week this course. […] I designed to have taken a Colledge of History from Perizonius but he shows so little respect to our Countrymen that I design rather to take that of Gronovius who is far the greater scholar & is to begin in a Month to give a Colledge on Livie.[115]

That same year, Mackenzie also began to study Greek, Latin, Hebrew and French. A year later, he had moved on to the *Digests*, still using Voet and some other commentators and the rest of the *Corpus Iuris*. He also planned to take a private college on Grotius but could not decide whether to take it with Vitriarius or Noodt.[116] During his last year at Leiden, he took

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[113] Cf. Van Strien & Ahsmann, 'Scottish Law Students in Leiden', 279–298, Lord George Douglas' time in the United Provinces has been described in: W. A. Kelly, 'Lord George Douglas (1667/1668?–1693?) and his library', *Stair Society Miscellany*, III (1992), 160–172, *Idem, The Library of Lord George Douglas (ca. 1667/8?–1693?). An Early Donation to the Advocates Library* (Cambridge, 1997), and Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham's Proposed Edition of the Digest'

[114] The Delvine Papers are an underused source. NLS, Ms1118. With thanks to Domhnall Stiubhart

[115] NLS, Ms1118/61, 63, George Mackenzie to his father.

[116] NLS, Ms1118/65, 69, *Idem*.

> a Colledge of Suetonius his lives of the Empereurs from Perizonius which I reap a great deal of advantage by, it containing most of the Antiquitijs requested for the knowledge of the Civil Law though otherwise it is of no great worth.[117]

Other Scottish students followed a similar curriculum, although perhaps less diligently as two generations of Clerks show. In 1701, William Clerk took *colleges* with Vitriarius on the *Institutes*, the *Digests* and Grotius, and even took an exam 'upon ye whole Pandects'. Stating his satisfaction with his professor, he wrote to his father that he had been able to express doubts he had been unable to voice in other classes.[118] Robert Clerk, Sir John Clerk of Penicuik's brother, took private *colleges* with Vitriarius and Burman in Leiden in 1726.[119] Alexander Boswell attended classes in 1727 by Schulting on the *Digests*, by Burman on history, and by Vitriarius on Grotius and German public law.[120] About a decade later, George Clerk (1715–1784), Sir John Clerk's son, wrote to his father from the same university: 'I attend Vitriarilus [sic], Mr. Westenberg upon the Institutions, and pandects, and Bourman as last year.'[121] Vitriarius clearly was one of the most popular professors at Leiden but not all professors were as well praised. In 1731 James Clerk (1709–1782) complained to his father about 'Professor Scultin [Schulting] for al tho he is reckoned a very good lawyer yet he hath got such a miserable way of speaking that there is non of his hearers who understand the 10th word…'.[122]

Aside from the traditional subjects, international and public law also gained in popularity in the early eighteenth century. Lawyers in the United Provinces had a long tradition of studying (near) contemporary legal commentators, especially Spanish and German. It is appealing to think that Scottish students in the United Provinces took an active interest in the specifically Dutch historical implications and interpretations of such authors in the light of the fraught Anglo-Scottish relations in the 1690s and the Union of 1707 and its aftermath. Certainly the Dutch Revolt had produced a vast corpus of tracts and pamphlets in which the case for Dutch independence from Spain was explored.

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[117] NLS, Ms1118/75, *Idem*.
[118] NAS, GD18/ 2307/24, William Clerk to Sir John Clerk.
[119] NAS, GD18/5299/21, Robert Clerk to the Hon. Baron Clerk.
[120] EUL, La.II.91c.60, 61, Alexander Boswell to Charles Mackie.
[121] NAS, GD18/5396/2, George Clerk to his father.
[122] NAS, GD18/5340/8, James Clerk to Sir John Clerk.

Yet few students appear to have been concerned with this and even fewer looked towards the Dutch precedent. George Mackenzie came closest, when, in 1710, towards the end of his stay in Leiden, he wrote to his father: 'But I'm too much affray'd wee shall in a very short time have very little use for our Civill Law if the English go on as they have begun…'[123]

The three other Dutch universities offered legal programs, which were similar to those of Leiden. The Utrecht *series lectionum* show a smaller law faculty consisting of sometimes three, later four professors, who also taught on the *Digests*, the *Institutes* and the *Codex*. Between 1680 and 1730 Lucas van de Poll (1630–1713) taught the *Digests*, Cornelis van Eck (d. 1732) taught contemporary law, and Johannes van Muijden (1652–1729) seems to have taught the entire *Corpus Iuris*. The Scottish student Alexander Grant (1679–1720) took a course with Van Muijden on feudal law in 1683.[124] Two years later, John Erskine of Carnock took private *colleges* with a number of friends at Utrecht with the same professor on the *Institutes* and the *Digests*, early in the morning before the start of the lectures.[125] In 1716 George Barclay was hoping to take a 'Privatissemum on the Institutes [or] Groteus' at Utrecht, possibly also with Van Muijden or Van Eck.[126] In 1707, the Senate of the University of Utrecht, perhaps in emulation of its main rival Leiden, decided to add a fourth Professor of Law and appointed Johannes Jacobus Vitriarius to teach public law.[127] When he left for Leiden in 1719, he was succeeded by Everardus Otto (1686–1756). The appointment of this Professor of Public Law was a contentious issue at Utrecht. Refusing to appoint a specialist in German law as had previously been done at Leiden, the Utrecht Senate claimed that this would merely be advantageous for the German students who were traditionally the smallest group of foreign students to attend the University, and ignored the needs of the Dutch, English and Scottish students.[128] This may very well have been an attempt to appeal to

[123] NLS, Ms1118/83. Prime Minister Robert Harley's (1661–1724) Tories scared many Scots since they seemed bent on a cultural unification of the United Kingdom,, including the churches, law, institutions and customs.
[124] RUU, Hs.15.C.14. Notes by Alexander Grant, based on S. Strijkius, *Examen Iuris Feudalis* (1st ed. 1675), c. 1696.
[125] Macleod, *Journal of the Hon. John Erskine*, 110, 165.
[126] NAS, GD18/5292/2, George Barclay to Sir John Clerk.
[127] Kernkamp, *Acta et Decreta*, 213.
[128] *Ibid.*, 215.

those students, who were now beginning to choose Groningen over Utrecht, thereby helping it regain its former niche. However, this attempt seems to have failed. Like their Leiden colleagues, the Utrecht professors included discussions of classical texts and later commentators and used Boeckelmann's and Noodt's *Compendia*, as well as their own textbooks by Van Muyden, van Eck, and Otto and those by other Dutch law professors.

The University of Groningen was the third of the Dutch universities and was originally founded with the intention of offering an academic education that was closer to home than the Universities of Leiden or Franeker. It drew its students mainly from its immediate hinterland, the *Ommelanden*, but its appeal extended well into the German states. As a result, Groningen's law faculty became oriented towards public law and German jurisprudence from the late 1640s onwards, well before Leiden. In 1667, Jacobus Oiselius (1659–1716) was officially appointed as the first Professor of Public Law and is known to have taught Grotius' *De Jure Belli Ac Pacis*.[129] Under his successors Alexander Arnold Pagenstecher (1659–1716), Pierre de Toullieu (1669–1734) and Jean Barbeyrac, the Groningen's law faculty gradually shifted its focus, flourishing in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Barbeyrac was internationally acclaimed for his annotated editions of Grotius and Pufendorf.[130] Originally a theologian, he was a staunch defender of natural law, defending its moral basis and political implications against Pierre Bayle's Pyrrhonism with help from his colleague in the Faculty of Philosophy, Jean Pierre de Crousaz (1633–1750), a fellow Huguenot.[131] He taught natural, international and Roman law

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[129] W. J. A. Jonckbloet, *Gedenkboek der Hoogeschool te Groningen ter Gelegenheid van haar Vijde Eeuwfeest op Last van den Akademischen Senaat* (Groningen, 1864), 288.

[130] S. Pufendorf, *Le Droit de la Nature et des Gens*, Tr. from the Latin, ann. and pref. by J. de Barbeyrac (Amsterdam, G. Kuyper, 1706) 4° (and other editions), *Idem, Les Devoirs de l'Homme et du Citoien, Tels qu'Ils Lui Sont Prescrits par la Loi Naturelle*: 2 parts, Tr. from the Latin and ann. by J. de Barbeyrac (4th enl. ed: Amsterdam, P. de Coup, 1718, 1st ed. 1707) 8°, (and other editions), Hugo Grotius, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis Libri Tres*. 2 parts, Ann. by J. de Barbeyrac (Amstelaedami, ap. Janssonio-Waesbergios, 1735) 8° (and other editions).

[131] Barbeyrac's science of morality and his influence on Scotland have been described by James Moore. James Moore, 'Natural Law and the Pyrrhonian Controversy', in: Peter Jones (ed.), *Philosophy and Science in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh, 1988), 20–38. See also Tim Hochstrasser, 'Conscience and Reason: The Natural Law Theory of Jean Barbeyrac, in: Knud Haakonssen (ed.), *Grotius, Pufendorf and Modern Law* (Aldershot etc., 1999), 289–400.

from Pufendorf, alongside his fellow French colleague De Toullieu, who was responsible for Roman law.[132] In 1727, they were joined by Arnoldus Rotgers (1701–1752), who also taught Roman law from Voet's *Compendium*.[133] By the 1720s, Groningen offered an arguably more modern and international law curriculum combined with French learning, which now began to draw in those students who previously would have attended Utrecht. In 1723, George Turnbull (1698–1748), regent at Marischal College and tutor to Andrew Wauchope of Niddry, wrote to Mackie that Groningen was 'indeed […] an exceedingly good place for study.'[134] Utrecht, on the other hand, was a grave disappointment: 'The Raison why we left that Place [Utrecht], was that we found the Gentlemen there minding nothing but their Pleasures nor (as far as I can learn) has any Body minded Books very much there for some years past.'[135] The other northern university, Franeker, was much less successful in attracting Scottish students. Following the death of William Ames in 1633, it had lost much of it appeal. The law faculty only attracted a handful of Scottish students, despite the presence of the famous legalist Ulric Huber. Only two Scots, Andreas Bruce and Robertus Craig, are known to have studied with him.[136] George Mackenzie of Delvine wished he and his tutor, Martin Martin (d. 1719) had gone to Franeker but he clearly expressed a minority opinion.[137]

The Faculties of Medicine ranked second out of the higher faculties. More so than any of the other faculties, the philosophy faculty prepared students for medicine through its emphasis on natural philosophy. Natural philosophy, which included physics and chemistry, were deemed requisites for the study of medicine. The responsibility for the teaching of the latter two subjects was shared between the Faculties of Philosophy and Medicine.[138] The traditional medical texts were, in the first place, Hippocrates and Galen, complemented and corrected with the works of modern commentators. Throughout the second half of the seventeenth century, the influence of Cartesianism was clearly noticeable in the medical curriculum. From the early eighteenth century onwards, Dutch medicine became heavily influenced by French

[132] Series Lectionum: 1647–1972. Rijksuniversiteit Groningen (Groningen, n.d.).
[133] *Passim*.
[134] EUL, La.II.91/74, George Turnbull to Charles Mackie.
[135] EUL, La.II.91c/14, George Turnbull to Charles Mackie.
[136] Postma & Van Sluis, *Auditorium Academiae Franekerensis*, 194–207.
[137] NLS, Ms1389/114.
[138] *Album Scholasticum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae*.

and English scientific discoveries and experimental philosophy. Bacon, Boyle and Newton had a significant impact on the medical curriculum. After 1700, Locke became important for the underlying anthropology and methodology of the philosophical physicians. The Leiden medical professor Herman Boerhaave famously drew inspiration from all these writers. As a result, a distinct interest in the empirical method began to appear in the medical curriculum. Botanical lessons and herbal medicine in the *hortus botanicus*, anatomical dissections in the *theatrum anatomicum* and lectures in practical medicine (*practica*), physiology (theory of medicine) and pathology constituted the medical students' daily program, even before Boerhaave's time. In 1693, David Gregory had attended an anatomical dissection of a child with birth defects by Frederick Ruisch (1638–1731) in Amsterdam.[139] The nature, progression and cure of diseases was the main focus of the Dutch medical education. A daily visit to the public hospital was an essential part of the medical curriculum. Apart from the ordinary subjects, certain professors offered specialized lectures and *colleges* on, for instance, the lower abdomen, afflictions of the eye or head, or midwifery.[140] The result was a very practice-oriented education, which is underlined by the students' dissertation topics, which were mainly on pathology or physiology.[141]

From 1681, the medical faculty of the University of Leiden consisted of four professors teaching anatomy, practical medicine, chemistry and botany. The most important was Herman Boerhaave who taught botany, chemistry, the medical institutes and practical medicine from 1701 until 1738.[142] A relatively high number of Scottish students took a Dutch MD and therefore would have followed most of the medical curriculum. The program these students followed would have been comparable to the one Boerhaave himself had taken as a student at Leiden.[143] They started with Hippocrates and the Greek medical writers. Anatomy was taught during the winter months when public dissections were held in the University's anatomical theatre. They also would have read Vesalius (1514–1564), Fallopius (1523–1562) and the

[139] EUL, Dk1.2A/10, Gregory Papers.
[140] Molhuysen, *Bronnen der Leidsche Universiteit*, 'Resoluties der Curatoren'.
[141] *Ibid.*, III–V, 'Acta Senatus'. Cf. Jaap Harskamp, *Dissertatio Medica Inauguralis… Leiden Medical Dissertations in the British Library, 1593–1746* (London, 1997), 117–215.
[142] *Ibid.*, III, 365.
[143] Lindeboom, *Boerhaave and Great Britain*, 9–10.

Bartholins and may have seen Swammerdam's anatomical preparations in Amsterdam. Thomas Sydenham (1624–1689) was the richest source on clinical medicine and later Boerhaave's own works. In pathology and therapeutics, the iatro-chemical school was still prevalent in the teachings of Franciscus Sylvius de la Boë. The Scottish physician Archibald Pitcairne, who resided in Leiden from 1692 until 1693, and especially Herman Boerhaave, were responsible for its demise, replacing it with the iatro-mechanical model in which mathematics figured more prominently. A sound knowledge of mathematics was therefore becoming increasingly important to students of medicine, as the *series lectionum* of the 1670s and 1680s confirm. The disciplines of chemistry and botany also greatly benefited from Boerhaave's presence as has been extensively described elsewhere.[144] John Mitchell, who matriculated in the Faculty of Medicine at Leiden in 1721, described some of the most recently published medical texts in a letter to Charles Mackie:

> …all Leeuwenhoek's Works printed in Latin, Morgagni's […] Fabricius ab Aquapendente's Chirurgey. Du Vivie and another […] all Vesalius's Works, that is his Anatomy, the Compend of his Anatomy, his Treatise de Radice Chira (?), his Chirurgey, Fallopius' Anatomical observations upon Vesalius, and Vesalius's answer [in an edition by Boerhaave and Albinus] […] Eustachius's Anatomical Tables.[145]

In 1713, Patrick Smyth wrote to his sister about the medical curriculum at Leiden: 'Except the Physick I took […] botany, chemistrie and a little history with some critical Divinity.'[146] He also must have attended at least one dissection, making a point of writing that he was staying near the anatomy hall.[147] Smyth appears to have been quite pleased with his medical training. He considered going to France but only to learn the language and midwifery.[148] John Mitchell also appears to have taken anatomy with the newly appointed Christiaan Bernard

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[144] *Ibid.* and *Idem*, *Herman Boerhaave: the Man and his Work* (London, 1968).

[145] EUL, La.II.90/10, John Mitchell, to Charles Mackie. Johannes Baptiste Morgagnus, *Adversaria Anatomica Omnia*. 3rd ann. ed., 6 parts (Lvgdvni Batavorvm, ap. J. A. Langerak, 1723) 4°, Hieronymus Fabricius, *Opera Chirurgica*. 2 parts (Lvgdvni Batavorvm, ex off. Boutesteniana, 1723) 2°. The other works do not seem to have been printed in the United Provinces. Johannes Du Vivié (1655–1733) was a botanical writer.

[146] NAS, GD190/1/41, Ensign Patrick Smyth to his sister.

[147] NAS, GD190/1/38, *Idem*.

[148] NAS, GD190/1/41, *Idem*.

Albinus (1696–1752).[149] He, like many Scottish students, was on good terms with Herman Boerhaave and spoke highly of him. Another Scot, Adam Murray (1698–1763), a fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, gave the following summary of his studies at Leiden in 1724–25:

> …If I know anything in physick now I owe it all to a Dutch professor [Herman Boerhaave]. I had always an inclination to sit with a book in my hand, but was never taught how to use it. In a word I never read fewer books in a year than I have done this last year past, yet have learn'd more these ten months by gone than for 20 years before, the cream of which I have put in two books, his *Institutions* and *Aphorisms*, which he has been explaining all this session.[150]

For many students, taking some medical subjects was also part of their polite education.[151] To them, visits to the botanical garden, the anatomical theater, and the university hospital and attending some of Boerhaave's lectures were merely part of their gentlemanly pursuits. For instance, John Erskine, not a medical student, visited the physician's garden, 'where I did see a number of fine herbs and trees, many of both which were in bloom, and some with the fruit upon them, were preserved in a house all winter'. He went on to comment on the anatomical theater in Leiden: 'I was seeing the anatomy house here, where there are many of the best rarities in the world, with many creatures preserved in their perfect shapes, by Doctor Herman [Boerhaave], one of the Professors of Medicine'.[152]

In the late seventeenth century, Utrecht was gaining increasing popularity as a center for medical education with Scottish students. Cartesianism had been introduced into the medical curriculum without much interference from the anti-Cartesians. The medical curriculum at Utrecht was comparable to that of Leiden. The *series lectionum* of 1656 mentions the Cartesian Henricus Regius who had been teaching theoretical medicine at Utrecht since 1638, and Isbrandus van Diemerbroeck (1609–1674). In 1672, both still taught in the medical faculty, although Regius' reputation had suffered greatly from his

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[149] EUL, La.II.90/10, John Mitchell to Charles Mackie.

[150] Smout, 'A Scottish Medical Student', 264.

[151] See for instance the lawyer John Spottiswoode of that ilk (1667–1728) on polite medical studies, J. W. Cairns, 'John Spotswood, 'Professor of Law: A Preliminary Sketch', *Miscellany Three*, ed. W. M. Gardy, Stair Society (1992), 131–9.

[152] Macleod, *Journal of the Hon. John Erskine*, 112.

conflict with Voetius in the 1640s. Van Diemerbroeck performed anatomical dissections and Regius was teaching botany in the botanical garden of the University. The former also conducted hospital visitations and taught on diseases and medication. Anatomical dissections at Utrecht were open to all students, although there were separate classes for medical students as well. Lectures were cancelled when dissections were held.[153] In 1723 Petrus van Musschenbroek, the famous Newtonian, was appointed to the philosophy faculty, closely tied to medicine, and was preparing future medical students.[154]

Divinity was the third of the higher faculties. Together with the semi-independent seminaries, the divinity faculties were responsible for training future ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church. Dutch theology during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was a combination of Voetian orthodox dogma and a more moderate everyday practice, which was reflected in the curriculum. But the mid-seventeenth century days of Macward, Bailie and the Voetians, which had been characterized by close intellectual relations, cooperation and mutual admiration, were over by the late 1680s. Many Scots were at worst shocked or, at best, surprised by the mixed attitude of most Dutch citizens towards their Church. In 1699, the Glasgow librarian Robert Wodrow expressed his concern with the state of religion in the United Provinces to one of his correspondents at Utrecht:

> It would be a special favour to me to have ane accompt of the state of religion and learning in Holland from you- quhat sort of philosophy is regnant in the Univeralitys &c.; as also a character of Le Clerck, quuhat is thought of him by the learned with you, in quhat station & of quhat nation he is, of quhat are his writings &c.; if Deism has gote any considerable footing in the provinces; the state, numbers & customes of the Jeus.[155]

Wodrow's anxiety was indicative of Scottish theologians who had their own problems with heterodoxy and laxness of dogma.[156]

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[153] NLS, Wodr. Lett. Q. I/48, Matthew Simson to Robert Wodrow.

[154] The 1768 *series lectionum* confirms this connection between medicine and philosophy.

[155] 'Robert Wodrow to Robert Steuart at Utrecht', in: Sharp, *Early Letters of Robert Wodrow*, 23. The answer, unfortunately, has not survived.

[156] Anne Skoczylas, *Mr. Simson's Knotty Case. Divinity, Politics, and Due Process in Early 18th-Century Scotland* (Montreal etc., 2001), 34, 77, 89.

The divinity curriculum at the Dutch universities was characterized by a scholarly approach. Philology, the study of biblical and oriental languages, exegesis and pastoral theology (preaching and counseling), formed the core of the future ministers' orthodox training. Exegesis and philology were taught from the Bible, as were the biblical languages. Hebrew, Chaldaic (Aramaic), Syrian and Arabic were taught between 1680 and 1729 by Professor Carolus Schaaf (1646–1729) in the philosophy faculty, whereas Greek was part of the history course. The study of biblical and oriental languages was an essential part of the divinity program throughout the seventeenth century and Leiden especially was a well-known center for the study of oriental languages.[157] This was attractive to Scottish theologians who had limited access to such languages at home.

The Leiden divinity curriculum also stressed issues of theological controversy. Some of those were historical so biblical antiquity and the rabbinical commentators were studied, as was ecclesiastical history. While the scholastic method of disputation was used for the dogmatic study and interpretation of the *difficiliora religionis* and the *loci communes*, which were of essential importance for the future Protestant ministers, the study of divinity was becoming more influenced by secular history and an increasing regard for rational standards.[158] How much the Leiden divinity curriculum had changed since the days of Voetius and Cocceius becomes clear from an assessment by Lachlan Campbell, the future Minister of Campbelltown. Regretting the fact that the Voetian theologian Spanheim was no longer alive, he went on to describe his private *colleges* by Jacobus Trigland (1652–1720) 'on Goodwyne's Moses & Aron', Herman Witsius (1636–1708) 'upon his oun Oeconomia Foederum', Johannes à Marck (1656–1731) on his *Medulla* and the Old Testament, and Perizonius on Roman and ecclesiastical history. Campbell also attended public lectures by Witsius on the life of Paul and by Perizonius on 'the Rom[an] & Batavic antiquity'.[159]

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[157] The library catalogues of both the Universities of Leiden and Utrecht show a large number of (polyglot) Bibles in both the oriental and classical languages. *Catalogus Bibliothecae Publicae Universitatis Lugduno-Batavae* (Leiden, 1716), *Catalogus Bibliothecae Ultrajectinae* (Dreunen, 1670).

[158] Cf. NLS, Wodr. Lett. Q. I.

[159] Sharp, *Early Letters of Robert Wodrow*, xli–xlii.

Both Witsius and à Marck used the *Talmud*, and the latter used the *Cabbala* as well. This was Calvinism with a humanist face.

The Utrecht *series lectionum* of 1672 listed a number of private disputation *colleges* on such works as Descartes' *Principia Philosophiae*, Essenius' *Compendium Theologiae Dogmaticum* and *Systema Theologica et Dogmatica*, and controversial loci from the New Testament. Utrecht's library catalogue for 1670 also shows a large collection of Hebrew and rabbinical texts.[160] Both William Carstares, who matriculated at Utrecht in 1669, and John Erskine studied divinity and Hebrew at Utrecht, Carstares under Leusden and Erskine with a private tutor.[161] Erskine attended public lectures and a private college by Witsius and Van Mastricht on divinity and another by De Vries on philosophy.[162] George Turnbull (1657–1704), minister of Alloa and Tyninghame, also studied under Witsius and Melchior Leydekker, onetime pastor in Zeeland.[163] Utrecht's theology program remained heavily influenced by Voetius and his circle and the Puritan theologian William Ames. The Genevan Francois Turretini (1623–1687) was also discussed during private *colleges* and in disputations. Despite a clear preference for orthodoxy and Voetianism, Scottish divinity students at Leiden and Utrecht moved surprisingly freely around the theology curriculum. By the late seventeenth century they took classes with Voetians such as Spanheim, Leydekker and De Vries, as well as with his opponents. According to John Smith, a Scottish student and one of Wodrow's correspondents, the differences with Scotland were twofold: 'anent the state of the soul' and 'anent the Scripture'.[164] It would appear that the Scots were often more interested in the Dutch methods—philology, oriental languages, textbooks—than in what was actually being taught. The Dissenter Edmund Calamy praised his experience at Utrecht and assessed the value of a Dutch divinity education as follows:

> I can, from my own experience, heartily recommend it to all students of theology, at the same time that they are endeavouring to lay in a stock of knowledge and learning, in a speculative way, to converse with freedom

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[160] *Catalogus Bibliothecae Ultrajectinae.*

[161] R. H. Story, *William Carstares: A Character and Career of the Revolutionary Epoch (1649–1715)* (London, 1874).

[162] Macleod, *Journal of the Hon. John Erskine*, 167.

[163] Robert Paul (ed.), 'The Diary of the Rev. George Turnbull Minister of Alloa and Tyningham 1657–1704', *Scottish History Society Miscellany*, I (Edinburgh, 1893), 293–445, 313.

[164] NLS, Wodr. Lett. Q. I/107, John Smith to Robert Wodrow.

> with the writings of our practical divines, on purpose that they may have the warmer sense of the things of God upon their minds and heart.[165]

That was not unlike the ideas of John Simson (1667–1740), the Glasgow Professor of Divinity who had studied in the United Provinces and taught from the books of à Marck and Witsius.[166] Others feared the Dutch acceptance of heterodoxy, their degree of Erastianism and their secular toleration towards other sects. The accusations of heresy against John Simson in the early eighteenth century were a case in point.[167]

The Dutch curriculum in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was progressive and modern. It incorporated the latest scientific developments and philosophy, had civic (law and the humanities) and practical (medicine) aims and was relatively tolerant and inclusive (divinity). Where it opposed new ideas, as it had done during the Cartesian disputes and the advance of French learning, it did so only temporarily. Compared to what was on offer at the Scottish universities, the Scots' Dutch education differed in two important respects: the Dutch had specialized professors and taught subjects, both at the universities and outside, which were much less freely available in Scotland, including modern and biblical languages, history, more mathematics and the sciences. The seventeenth century Scottish curriculum has been analyzed by Christine Shepherd. As she has shown, while the outline remained largely the same throughout the seventeenth century—Latin, though not compulsory, and Greek in the first year, logic and metaphysics in the second year, metaphysics and ethics in the third year and physics in the fourth year—the content changed over time and was by no means solely Aristotlean as is sometimes assumed. After 1660, new ideas were gradually absorbed and the New Philosophy began to make its appearance in graduation theses. By the end of the seventeenth century, Locke was adopted in logic and metaphysics and in physics, Newtonian ideas began making an appearance at the start of the eighteenth century. In law, different types of justice and natural law were discussed, and Grotius, Cumberland and Pufendorf (1632–1694) were all mentioned. The experiments of contemporary and recent scientists were described, including Robert Boyle (1627–1691) and the Royal Society and other English, French and Dutch scientists.

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[165] Calamy, *Historical Account*, 188.
[166] Skoczylas, *Mr Simson's Knotty Case*, esp. Ch. 5.
[167] *Passim.*

Their works were available in the university libraries. There were big differences between the Scottish universities, however, with Edinburgh being the most and Glasgow the least progressive. Theology was still universally dogmatic with a strict adherence to orthodox doctrine, the Westminister Confession of Faith and Scotland's Covenanter past.[168] It also had a strict orientation towards the material world, as John Coffey has pointed out.[169]

Charles Mackie's education in Scotland was fairly typical of the Scottish curriculum around 1700. As a boy he probably attended the high school in Edinburgh and in 1702 he matriculated at the University of Edinburgh in the class of regent William Law.[170] He was, of course, taught in Latin but may also have studied Greek, which was not yet a required subject. His first acquaintance with Dutch scholarship stems from this period. He was certainly taught from Gerard De Vries' compendia on ontology, pneumatics, ethics and physics, and most likely from other Dutch texts as well.[171] In logic he would have learned about Descartes' methodology and a bit on deductive inferences and metaphysics. In moral philosophy, he would have heard about theoretical ethics and politics. His study of law was based on the Bible, Aristotle and natural law theories. In natural philosophy he would have had some optics and astronomy and was taught the three still-competing world systems of Copernicus (1473–1543), Brahe (1546–1601) and Galileo (1564–1642). His regent, although not a Newtonian, lectured on Christiaan Huygens' refutation of Descartes' laws of impact and the theory of gravity.[172] He graduated with an M.A. in 1705 and subsequently went abroad to finish his education in the United Provinces around the same time that his uncle William Carstares, as principal of the University of Edinburgh, embarked on reforming his university. Whether he was actually sent by his uncle, who had an interest in history as a university discipline, is not clear. Young as he was, he could

[168] John Coffey, *Politics, Religion and the British Revolutions. The Mind of Samuel Rutherford* (Cambridge, 1997), 62–69.

[169] *Ibid*., 64.

[170] *A Catalogue of the Graduates in the Faculties of Arts, Divinity, and Law, of the University of Edinburgh, since its Foundation* (Edinburgh, 1858).

[171] Gerard de Vries, *De Natura Dei et Humanae Mentis Determinationes Pneumatolicae* (Ultrajecti, ex. off. J. vande Water bibl., 1690) 8° (and other editions). This included his ontology. Cf. Dc. 7.79, Mackie's lecture notes.

[172] EUL, Dc. 8.53.

have gone over as a tutor but there is no evidence to suggest that other than the place he went to study—Groningen.

Mackie matriculated at the University of Groningen in October 1707 in the Faculty of Law.[173] This was not an obvious choice. The University did not have the international reputation of Leiden or Utrecht and it lacked the all-important financial and intellectual infrastructure of the other Dutch universities. As the most northern university, it was also not as easy to get to as Leiden and Utrecht. For these reasons, Scottish student numbers had never been very high. Most importantly, none of the Huguenot professors, who were to be responsible for the increase in student numbers in the 1720s, had yet been appointed. In fact, the only scholar with an international reputation, the mathematician Johannes Bernoulli (1667–1748), had left in 1705.[174] While it also had no distinguished historians or law professors, Groningen did have a tradition of philosophical freedom, which had kept it, to an extent, outside the bitter fight over Cartesianism.[175] Perhaps Mackie went there to study because it offered fewer distractions and lower costs. He does not seem to have taken a Grand Tour at this stage, but he took one almost a decade later when he was tutoring the son of the Earl of Leven, Alexander Leslie.

In Groningen, he most likely studied law with Alexander Arnold Pagenstecher, the Professor of Law, and perhaps also history and eloquentia with Adam Menso Isinck (d. 1727).[176] He may also already have met Pierre de Toullieu, the future Professor of Roman Law. He certainly knew the Huguenot philologist Michael Rossal (1672–1744), the future Professor of Greek and Logic who had been teaching history as a lector since 1698 and had been Extraordinary Professor of Greek since 1706. We know that Mackie took private *colleges* with him but we do not know what he studied.[177] Although he only spent about a year there, his time in Groningen made a lasting impression on him and he subsequently sent a number of his students there in the 1720s and

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[173] He matriculated as 'Carolus Mackij' on October 5, 1708 in the Faculty of Law. *Album Studiosorum Academiae Groninganae*.

[174] EUL, La.II.91/36, Robert Duncan to Charles Mackie.

[175] Malcolm de Mowbray, 'Libertas Philosophandi. Wijsbegeerte in Groningen rond 1650', in: Krop *Zeer Kundige Professoren* 33–46, *passim*.

[176] A number of his lecture notes on law from Groningen survive, but none on any other subject. EUL, La.II.37/182–196, 197–202, 204–209.

[177] EUL, La.II.91/36, Robert Duncan to Charles Mackie. Duncan referred to Rossal as 'your old Master'.

1730s, adding to an already significant rise in Scottish student numbers at this university. While it is not clear what he studied exactly, he stayed with a French landlord, a Mr Cramant, and even referred many of his former students to him in the 1720s.[178] One notable consequence of his time in Groningen appears to have been his lifelong interest in French scholarship.

What Mackie did between 1708 and 1715 is not known but he probably tutored boys either in Scotland or as a traveling tutor. In 1715 he returned to the United Provinces. He went as a tutor to Alexander Leslie, the son of David Melville (later Leslie), third Earl of Leven (1660–1728).[179] They matriculated at the University of Leiden and stayed until 1719.[180] Fortunately, a great deal more is known about their time together at Leiden than about Mackie's time in Groningen. At Leiden their landlord was the surgeon Hendrik Ulhoorn, who was familiar with many of the university professors and would have provided introductions and information to the two men. Apart from Leslie, Mackie was close to at least three other students, the Jacobite scholar Harry Maule (1659–1734), John Yeomans, and David Melville who he took under his wing at the specific request of his employer, the Earl of Leven, who wrote to him in 1718: 'This comes with my nevoy David Melvill who is sent to Lyden with a design to follow his books there and I desire that you'll take care of him and give him your best advise […] as to his Studdies.'[181]

Mackie and Leslie matriculated in the Faculty of Law. They took *colleges* 'upon the Institutions of the Civil Law and Pandects, Universall history and a Colledge upon Florus'.[182] These must have been private *colleges*, except possibly Burman's course on universal history. Alexander Leslie's own son David Balgonie later recalled in a letter

[178] EUL, La.II..91/46, 51, 53. It is possible that this is where he first met Rossal.

[179] Both Alexander Leslie's father and his son went to the United Provinces. The Earl of Leven had been on a Grand Tour of France, the Southern and the Northern United Provinces in 1684–5. NAS, GD26/6/139, Notebook of the Earl of Leven. David, Lord Balgonie went to France, Germany and the United Provinces in 1776. NAS, GD26/6/189, Lord Balgonie's Account of expenses. To avoid confusion I follow Mackie in referring to them as the Earl of Leven, Alexander Leslie and Lord Balgonie.

[180] NAS, GD26/6/173, Travel Expenses of Alexander Leslie in the United Provinces, 1717–1719.

[181] NAS, GD26/13/532, The Earl of Leven to Charles Mackie.

[182] NAS, GD26/13/505/9, Mackie to the Earl of Leven. Lucius Annius Florus was a Roman historian.

to Mackie that his father had taken a private *college* on the Institutes with Mr Rotgers, the future Professor of Law at Groningen.[183] This was the type of law curriculum which was typical of the Dutch universities and which was very popular with Scottish students. Leslie's polite education was rounded off with a Grand Tour.[184]

Mackie's and Leslie's time at Leiden contrasted sharply with that of Mackie's uncle, William Carstares, at Utrecht in the late 1660s. Where the former represented the post-Union generation seeking a polite education, Carstares was a divinity student who probably chose Voetian Utrecht for its orthodoxy, even if he came to embrace Dutch religious toleration afterwards. He matriculated at the University of Utrecht in 1669.[185] Although little is known about his time there, we can safely assume that, like his fellow Scottish students, he followed a curriculum of his own choice interspersed with visits to important people and towns. Unlike many Scots of a later generation, he seems to have been in Utrecht without a tutor. He enrolled in the Faculty of Divinity but he probably also took some subjects in the philosophy faculty, almost certainly history, Greek, and Hebrew, and possibly moral philosophy and one of the oriental languages. He might also have attended anatomical dissections and demonstrations in chemistry or physics and visited the medical cabinets and the botanical gardens, as did so many others. As a theologian he would have attended lectures, classes, and sermons by Voetius and his colleagues, Andreas Essenius (1618–1677) and Matthias Nethenus. In 1685, Carstares described his library consisting of works he acquired before he returned to the United Provinces as an exile. It looks like the standard reading list of a Utrecht divinity student in the latter part of the seventeenth century.[186]

Approximately forty percent of the seventy-four books on his list were written by Dutch authors and most likely many more had been printed in the United Provinces. Interestingly, at least eighteen titles were by

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[183] NAS, GD26/13/613/2, Lord Balgonie to Mackie. Arnoldus Rotgers (1701–1752) was never a professor at Leiden. He may have been one of the many lectors or tutors who only gave private *colleges*. However, if he is the same as the Professor of Law at Groningen, he must have been very young indeed. It is more likely that he was a fellow student. In the same letter Balgonie also mentions his father's dictates of Noodt, who taught at Leiden when Leslie and Mackie were there.

[184] La.II.90, John Mitchell to Charles Mackie.

[185] *Album Studiosorum Academiae Rheno-Trajectina*.

[186] 'Catalogus Librorum Gul. Carstares. April 9. Londini 1685', in: *Caldwell Papers*, 166–168.

professors from the University of Utrecht. Carstares had books by all the famous Dutch theologians, including six works by Gijsbert Voet, mainly disputations, and several works by his colleagues Essenius and Hoornbeek (1617–1666), but nothing by the exiles' darling Nethenus. His collection also contained unidentifiable titles by the Leiden theologians Friedrich Spanheim and Jacobus Trigland (1652–1720) and the Franeker professor Johannes Cloppenburg (1592–1652).[187] He also owned Beza's *Tractatio de Repudiis et Devortiis*, François Turrettini's *De Satisfactione Christi*, Bibles by Junius (1545–1602) and Tremellius (1510–1580) and a small number of works on English theology. The Voetian theology was supplemented by a number of philosophical publications by Paul and Daniel Voet and Daniel Berkringer and one text by the Cocceio-Cartesian Wolzogen.[188] He also owned the Leiden philosophy professor Heereboordt's *Ethics*, Johannes Maccovius' *Metaphysics* and a work by the metaphysical poet and anti-Cartesian Jacobus Revius (1586–1658), entitled *Cartesiomania*.[189] The library catalogue also listed a '*Compendium Philosoph. Manuscriptum*', which was possibly a set of his own lecture notes. He had a fair number

[187] Gisbertus Voetius, *Selectarum Disputationum ex Posteriori Parte Theologiae* (Rheno-Traiecti, ex typ. J. a Noortdijck et W. Sticki) 4°; *Idem, Selectarum Disputationum Theologicarum Pars prima(-quinta)* (Ultrajecti, ap. J. a Waesberge, vol. 4: Amstelo) 4°; *Idem, Disputatio Theologica, de Coelo Beatorum* (Ultraiecti, ex. off. J. a Waesberge), 1653), 4°; *Idem, Exercitia et Bibliotheca Studiosi Theologiae* (Rheno-Trajecti, ap. W. Strick, 1644) 12°; *Idem, Selectarum Disputationum Historico-Theologicarum Quinta* (Ultrajecti, ex. off. Ae, et P. Roman typ., 1637) 4°; *Idem, Oratio Funebris in Obitum […] D. Meinardi Schotani* (Ultraiecti, ex off. W. Strick, 1644); Andreas Essenius, *Triumphis CrucisSive Fidea Catholica de Satisfatione Dom.* (Amstelodami, ap. L. Elzevirum, 1649) 4°; *Idem, Systematis Theologici Pars Prior (-Ultima)* (Ultrajecti, (2–3: Amstelaedami) ex off. J. a Waesberge) 4°; J. Hoornbeeck, *Disputatio Theologica ad Bullam P. Innocentii. X.* (Ultrajecti, ex. off. J. a Waesberge) 4°; J. Cloppenburg, *Compendiolum Socinianismi* (Franekerae, exc. I. Balck, 1651) 4°. These and the titles below are first editions; it is virtually impossible to identify which editions Carstares owned.

[188] P. Voet, *Theologia Naturalis Reformata* (Trajecti ad Rhenum, ex off. J. a Waesberge bibl., 1656) 4°; *Idem, Jurisprudenta Sacra, Instituta Juric Caesarei cum divino* (Amstelodami, ex. off. J. Jansonii a Waesberge, 1662) 12°; *Idem, De Duellis, Licitis & Illicitis, Liber Singularis* (Ultrajecti, ex off. G. a Zyll, 1646), 12°; D. Voet, *Compendium Pneumatica* (Ultrajecti, ex off. H. Versteegh bibl., 1661) 12°. Another work by D. Voet and D. Berkringer's *Dissertatio de Conciliis* were unidentifiable.

[189] A. Heereboordt, *Collegium Ethicvm, sev, Philosophia Moralis* (1658), J. Maccovius, *Metaphysica* (Lugd. Batav., ex off. F. Hacki, 1650) 12°; J. Revius, *Kartesiomania Hoc Est Furiosum Nugamentum, Quod Tobias Andreae, Sub Titulo Assertionis Methodi Cartesianae, Orbi Literato Obstrusit, Succinte As Solide Confutatum* (1654) Or *Kartesiomanias Pars Altera, Qua Ad Secundam Partem Rabiosae Assertionis Tobiae Andreae Respondetur* (1655).

of books on languages, both the oriental ones and the modern ones, and the classics. His library listed four books by Johannes Leusden, Carstares' Professor of Hebrew at Utrecht, including his *Manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum* and a *Philologus Hebraeus*, and two by Hendrik Alting (1583–1644), Leusden's colleague at Groningen.[190] He had a Hebrew Bible and a Greek New Testament by Leusden, another Greek testament and a volume of French sermons. Carstares appears to have been less interested in Latin, probably because he had a good knowledge of the language already and, for theological purposes, it was less important. He only owned one of Scaliger's titles.[191] He was very interested in modern languages and owned a copy of Thomas La Grue's *Grammatica Gallica* and a combined compendium on German, French and Italian.[192] Later on in his career Carstares must have acquired a significant library, which has not survived. After his death in 1715, his nephew Alexander Dunlop wrote to his brother William, enquiring after 'Carstares Books'. It is not clear what happened to them.[193]

Carstares' library of 1685 clearly showed the impact of his student days in the United Provinces; his theology was largely Voetian and his philosophy anti-Cartesian. Having rounded off his studies in Utrecht, Carstares was probably also ordained there by a Dutch classis. In 1683, Carstares returned to the United Provinces following his involvement in the Rye House plot. Although he matriculated as a student at Leiden in 1686, taking advantage of the legal protection the universities provided, he probably never took any courses. He knew a number of professors, though, such as the Professors of Divinity Witsius and Jacobus Trigland, with whom he corresponded after his exile; the Utrecht Professor of Philosophy De Vries; and most likely the Leiden Professor of History Jacobus Gronovius and his Franeker

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[190] J. Leusden, *Philologus Hebraeus* (Ultrajecti, ap. M. a Dreunen, 1656); *Idem, Manuale Hebraicum & Chaldaicum […] cum Versione Latina* (Trajecti ad Rhenum, ex off. C. a Coesvelt, 1688) 12°; *Idem, Novi Testamenti Clavis Graeca* (Ultrajecti, ex off. G. a Poolsum bibl., 1672) 8°; H. Alting, *Theologia Problematica Nova: Sive Systema Problematum Theol.* (Amstelodami, ap. J. Janssonium, 1662).

[191] J. C. Scaliger, *Exotericarum exercitationum liber quintus decimus, de subtilitate ad Hieronymum Cardanum* (Paris, 1557).

[192] Thomas La Grue, *Grammatica Gallica* (Lugd. Batav. ex off. F. Hacki, 1654).

[193] In two later letters a number of books, mainly on English theology, are discussed but it is not clear whether these were Carstares' or not. GUL, Dunlop Papers, Ms 83/8, 14, 15, Alexander Dunlop to William Dunlop.

colleague Jacobus Perizonius, men whose ideas and textbooks were to feature prominently in Carstares's future reform of the University of Edinburgh.[194]

The Grand Tour

A visit to a Dutch university was usually accompanied by further travel in the United Provinces or a Grand Tour of Europe. Many Scots treated their Dutch education as part of an academic pilgrimage; for others, most notably exiles, the Dutch universities were the final destination. While in exile, William Carstares went on a short tour of the Southern Netherlands and Germany before he settled in Holland, as did the Stewarts of Coltness, George Turnbull and Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun.[195] Charles Mackie and Alexander Leslie also went on a Grand Tour. After 1700, the universities became part of a longer itinerary for many Scottish students and tourists seeking a polite rather than an academic education. For most, Dutch universities were not only academically but also literally the gateway to Europe. Originally regarded as an integral part of a young nobleman's upbringing, the Grand Tour, in line with the general motivation for going abroad, became increasingly fashionable.[196] After the Anglo-Scottish Union, there was a definite increase in Grand Tourists and by the middle of the eighteenth century it had become more of a status symbol than a serious education. Some universities began to cater to these students, offering polite and gentlemanly pursuits such as riding, fencing, dancing and modern languages. Others now specialized mainly in the granting of degrees, such as Harderwijk and some of the French universities.[197] The Dutch universities were well placed to engage in this sort of competition. They already had the illustrious schools to contend with in the politeness-stakes and their civic purpose meant that they remained attractive when student demands began to change. The (suggested) reforms at

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[194] Trigland wrote to Carstares at least twice, once in 1698 and once in 1704. EUL Dk 1.1/12, Dk 1.1/37. According to McCormick, De Vries was one of the Dutch academics that Carstares tried to persuade to move to Edinburgh.

[195] Story, *William Carstares*, 111–127; Robert Paul, 'The Diary of the Rev. George Turnbull Minister of Alloa and Tyninghame 1657–1704', *Scottish History Society Miscellany*, I (Edinburgh, 1893).

[196] Cf. Moore, 'The Education of a Scottish Nobleman's Sons.

[197] De Ridder Symoens (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe*, 433.

Leiden and Utrecht around 1700 further illustrate an awareness of this change in student expectations.

Scottish students were usually accompanied by a tutor during their studies and their travels. For those who were not of aristocratic descent, tutoring was a way to gain an education and sometimes even a degree, or to do research. Lord George Douglas was accompanied by his tutor Alexander Cunningham on his tour of the United Provinces, Geneva, Germany and Italy. Sir John Clerk traveled without a tutor, causing his father some concern. He advised him to 'confer now and then on your studies […] with some learned men, and particularly with any virtuous diligent student.'[198] The task of a tutor was to prepare his pupil for the *colleges*, advise him on his courses and offer help wherever necessary. He was also in charge of his pupil's finances and was to report regularly to his employer on his tutee's progress, health, financial situation and travels. Both Charles Mackie and George Barclay were very pleased with their tutee's conduct: 'Mr Leslie […] agreed very well with travelling and was very curious in observing everything worth his notice in the several places we passed through.'[199] '[…] He has a capacity and curiosity enough to make a profitable use of Traveling […].'[200] Perhaps not surprisingly, most young men preferred traveling to studying, which was considered hard work. Despite Mackie's dedicated tutoring, Alexander Leslie warned his father in 1715 that his studies might take longer than anticipated: 'I hope that by application I shall be able to master this very difficult task.'[201] Two decades before, Sir John Clerk had expressed a similar concern.[202] Students also frequently traveled together. In 1723, for instance, Andrew Wauchope traveled together with Thomas Kirkpatrick to Zeeland, Flanders, Brabant, Lille, Cambrai, Spa, Liege, Aix-La-Chapelle and Cologne.[203] Thomas Dundas (1706–1784) and Alexander Boswell met in 1728 in Harwich and decided to travel to the United Provinces together.[204]

Students generally traveled extensively around the Dutch provinces, depending on the duration of their stay, usually during their

198 NAS, GD18/5194/11, John Clerk Sr to his son.
199 NAS, GD26/13/505/9, Charles Mackie to the Earl of Leven.
200 NAS, GD18/5292/2, George Barclay to Sir John Clerk.
201 NAS, GD26/13/505/1, The Earl of Leven to his son, Alexander Leslie.
202 NAS, GD18/5197/1, 2.
203 NAS, GD247/177/6/15, Accounts Sir Andrew Wauchope of Niddry.
204 EUL, La.II.91/59, Thomas Dundas to Charles Mackie.

periods of vacation. There was indeed much to see and do in the United Provinces within a small geographical space. The different university buildings and their scientific theatres and botanical gardens, the curiosity cabinets and hospitals, the government buildings in The Hague and Leeuwarden, the stadholderly and the former Bohemian courts, the different religious sects—Lutherans, Arminians, Anabaptists, Puritans, Quakers Cameronians, Catholics and Jews—and their places of worship, the bleach fields in Holland and the many places of historic interest amazed, educated and sometimes also offended the Scottish students.[205] Although the famous Dutch tolerance should not be overstated, the religious situation in the United Provinces was undoubtedly unique.[206] Many Scottish students marveled at the religious diversity. Visits to one or more sects or churches made for a religious education outside the lecture halls and classrooms.[207] As a student at Utrecht, John Erskine visited French and Lutheran churches. On his trip to Cleves and the Rhineland he 'went into a popish church, where they were at mass' and a 'Jesuits' College, where they taught Latin and Rhetorick.'[208] The Jewish synagogues in Amsterdam were especially popular, both out of curiosity and for scholarly reasons. Following their travel guides, a student's tour of the United Provinces would usually also include a visit to Delft and Dordrecht for their historic significance, Haarlem and the coastal fishing villages of Scheveningen, Loosduinen, Noordwijk, Katwijk and Rijswijk.[209] Sir John Clerk described his vacation in a letter to his father as follows:

> The only relaxation, if it may be called such, was spending my vacations at the Hegue. There I went for about 3 months, each summer I staid in Holland, yet I was far from being idle, except a few houres of the day in which I attended the soveraign Courts of Holland as often as I cou'd get

[205] For an extensive description of the different tourist attractions in the United Provinces, see: Van Strien, *British Travelers in Holland*, 113–154. See also: *Diaries and Travels of Lord John Hope* and William Sinclair's notes on his tour of the United Provinces. NAS, Sinclair of Freswick Papers, GD136/375.

[206] For Dutch toleration in context, see H. A. Enno van Gelder, *Getemperde Vrijheid* (Groningen, 1972).

[207] Van Strien, *British Travellers in Holland*, 201–211. See also: Frank E. Manuel, *The Broken Staff. Judaism through Christian Eyes* (Cambridge and London, 1992), 75.

[208] Macleod, J*ournal of the Hon. John Erskine*, 198, 204.

[209] William the Silent, the leader of the Dutch Revolt against Spain, had been murdered in Delft. Dordrecht's was famous as the birthplace of Hugo Grotius and for the Synod.

> admission, I continued in a course of great Application to my studies.[210] […] I went to a town called Leysdunne, which was commended to me as the pleasantest and best village in Holland; lying within a mile and a half of The Hague. The great wood of The Hague coming up to the back of the town, which, being a perfect wilderness, is free from all kind of stinking water.[211]

After their tour of the Dutch provinces, most students proceeded to travel south. Arnhem and Nijmegen were favorite stopovers on the way to Germany or the southern United Provinces, as were Breda and 's-Hertogenbosch on the way to the Scots Brigade along the Flanders' border.[212] Many Scottish students also took the opportunity to visit the army and the fortifications of the cities along the southern borders during their vacations. In 1695 Sir John Clerk wrote to his father: 'All the rest of the Scotsmen at Leiden are either gone home or gone to Flanders.'[213] William Mure enjoyed his visit to the British army in the company of King William III, despite 'fear of French partisane parties.'[214] Harry Erskine (1682–1707), writing from Breda in 1702, gave a description of an army camp near the southern border in a letter to his brother.[215] George Mackenzie of Delvine also described his visit to the army in Flanders in 1709 in several letters to his father and was shocked by the destruction caused by the war.[216] Others took the opportunity to study the (military) arts of fortification, engineering, land surveying and draining. Alexander Leslie's father David Leslie, the Earl of Leven, had taken a keen interest in these matters. On his tour of France, the Low Countries and Germany in 1684–1685, he had acquired books on *L'Art de Jetter les Bombes* and *L'Art de Fortification* and took private *colleges* with a 'master of mathematicks'.[217] George Barclay and his pupil, who appears to have been very interested in mathematics, toured the fortified towns along the border in 1717.[218] Understanding military affairs and the land that had been so often

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[210] Gray, *Memoirs of Sir John Clerk of Penicuick*, 17.

[211] NAS, GD18/5197/5Sir John Clerk to his father.

[212] Van Strien gives a description of the various routes and destinations in the Dutch Republic. Van Strien, *British Travelers in Holland*, 71–75. Cf. NAS, GD247/177/6/15, Accounts Andrew Wauchope of Niddry.

[213] NAS, GD18/5197/5.

[214] 'Tour of William Glanderstone (afterwards of Caldwell) in the year 1696', *Caldwell Papers*, 170–180.

[215] NAS, GD24/15/220/1, 2.

[216] NLS, Delvine Papers, Ms1118/79,80, George Mackenzie to his father.

[217] NAS, GD26/6/139, Notebook of the Earl of Leven.

[218] NAS, GD18/5292/1, 2, George Barclay to Sir John Clerk.

contested were all parts of the educations of many gentlemen in Holland. At the same time, Scottish soldiers often took advantage of their service in the Dutch Republic to attend university.[219]

In the course of the eighteenth century, the United Provinces became first and foremost the introduction to the rest of Europe. Sometimes travelers, instead of taking the rather expensive Grand Tour, only did part of it. The Englishman Joseph Taylor, who visited the British army in 1707 after finishing his law degree, referred to his trip to the southern Netherlands, where the army was stationed, and the United Provinces, as 'my small tour'.[220] There were several ways to do the Grand Tour. Travelers bound for France and Italy continued to land in Holland and Zeeland and often visited the Dutch provinces before they went on the rest of their Grand Tour. Places visited on a Grand Tour usually included Ghent, Bruges, Brussels, Spa and sometimes the University of Louvain in the Southern Netherlands. The Tour usually ran through courts and capitals of some of the German states such as Aachen, Cleves, Hannover, Dusseldorf, Heidelberg and other centers of royal or princely political power. France was a must in peacetime: Paris, Versailles, Fontainebleau, Orleans, and the cities along the Loire river. Switzerland was sometimes visited, as were other parts of France. Italy, Spain and, to a certain extent, France as well, were tainted with traditional connotations of Catholicism and absolutism, whereas the United Provinces and Geneva, for obvious reasons, were favored as bulwarks of Calvinism.[221] Alexander Cunningham and George Barclay, however, took their tutees to Italy in the 1680s and after. Sir John Clerk's father was not too impressed with the idea of his son going to Italy in the 1690s even though he went no further than Rome.[222] Such men visited Florence, Rome, Bologna and Venice, places full of Roman antiquities, historical interest and even old universities. Few got to Naples or beyond. By the early eighteenth century, a visit to Italy, but not to Spain, had become an integral part of the Grand Tour as tolerance increased and interests in art and antiquities grew.

Scottish visitors spent a fair amount of money during their stay in the United Provinces. Transportation, accommodation, eating and drinking were considerable costs, although not the only things on which

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[219] Cf. Mijers & Murdoch, 'Migrant Destinations', 329–331.
[220] Taylor, *A Relation of a Voyage to the Army*, 47.
[221] Jeremy Black, *The British and the Grand Tour* (London, 1985).
[222] Gray, *Memoirs of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik*, 19.

they spent their money. Students also had to pay for their matriculation if they wished to be registered, their *colleges* and their books. They spent money on wine and women and, sometimes, medical men. As tourists they brought back souvenirs and goods to Scotland, ranging from Delft china, paintings and furniture to books, prints and maps. Goods were acquired with help from the Scottish mercantile networks. Few merchants specialized in a particular type of merchandise and visitors would order the most diverse goods from the Scottish traders in Rotterdam and Amsterdam. Gilt hangings, furniture, chimney pieces, paintings, pistols, gunpowder, pipes, tobacco, books, seeds, optical instruments, maps, prints, timber, paint and brushes were listed among the vast number of orders, bills and accounts settled between Scots and their merchants.[223] Often, friends and family would purchase and ship goods for relatives or friends at home. Sir John Clerk's father bought, among other things, paints, materials and tools, a furnace, a round chamber pot, prints, porcelain, tobacco and a pistol on his (short) trip to the United Provinces in 1677.[224] Sir John Clerk of Penicuick himself developed many of his interests as a student at Leiden.[225] He imported books, paintings and music from the United Provinces and kept up a lively correspondence with Herman Boerhaave on the latter. He had a large collection of Dutch paintings in Penicuick House, which were ordered by size, color and depiction, as they had to fit the decor. Sir John Clerk's father had been the first to import a Rembrandt to Scotland.[226] Dutch paintings were becoming increasingly popular by the late seventeenth century. Andrew Russell certainly exported them to Scotland between 1677 and 1693.[227] John Drummond and Jasper van der Heyden imported fine art for their clients.[228] In 1691 Sir James Dick (1643–1728) commissioned Baillie Alexander Brand to buy Dutch paintings for his newly built home, Prestonfield House:

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[223] See for instance the Russel papers in the NAS, RH15.
[224] NAS, GD18/2567/2.
[225] Ian Gordon Brown, 'Sir John Clerk of Penicuik (1676–1755). Aspects of a Virtuoso Life' (Cambridge, D. Phil thesis, 1980).
[226] Lloyd Williams, *Dutch Art and Scotland* 15–16.
[227] *Ibid.*, 16.
[228] Mackillop, 'Accessing Empire'.

> Sir I doe deliver you Tenn Louidores in Gold to be bestowed upon good hansom Pictures to be bought in flanders or Holland, where you think fittest for hanging of my Stairecase of my house at Prestonfield wh would be in number from Sixteen to Twenty four, as you can have them. […] Lett your choyce runn upon Lively Light coloures and not sadd…[229]

An Edinburgh auction list dated March 3,1697 listed a number of Dutch paintings, which was at least half of the collection on offer.[230] Like the ones commissioned by Sir James Dick, these were certainly not great art, but merely decorative pieces. In 1706, the Earl of Mar asked his niece Mary of Tullibardine to buy a number of prints for him but unfortunately she was unable to find what he had asked for.[231] Many other Scottish families owned Dutch paintings, as has been described by Julia Lloyd Williams.[232]

Aside from books and paintings, decorations, furnishings, machines and instruments were the most popular merchandise to be imported from the United Provinces. Dutch chimney-pieces, gilt hangings and china, but also architectural and garden designs and ornaments met the increasing demand for the Dutch and French styles. During their visit, Scottish visitors were not only introduced to Dutch learning; they were also exposed to new cultural, political and social ideas and to continental culture in general. The United Provinces served as an intellectual and cultural entrepôt and acted as an intermediary to the Scots. French, Italian and German fashions, art, architecture and language, music and dancing all reached Scotland by way of the United Provinces. All this would have an impact in the later eighteenth century. More immediately, the Dutch influence was felt in the Scottish universities and in the Scottish-Dutch book trade.

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[229] Prestonfield House in Edinburgh was built in 1687. Many of the paintings are still there. The Hon. Mrs Atholl Forbes (ed.), *Curiosities of a Scots Charta Chest, 1600–1800*, (Edinburgh, 1897), 41.

[230] NAS, GD26/13/271, Auction List, Edinburgh 3–3 1697.

[231] NAS, Mar and Kellie Muniments, GD124/15/34, Mary of Tullibardine to the Earl of Mar.

[232] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER THREE

GOING DUTCH

Scotland and the Scottish Universities

Their Dutch education had a profound impact on the Scottish students. Both the curriculum and the content of the subjects on offer underwent a great deal of change between the middle of the seventeenth and the middle of the eighteenth century. Influenced by the (Episcopalian) virtuosi and with the Duke of York's patronage, the Scottish science curriculum had, to an extent, been modernized in the 1680s. Advances were made in medicine and law. In 1681 and again in 1695, attempts had been made in Glasgow to establish a specialized teaching system. In 1685 the Dutch-educated virtuosi Sir Robert Sibbald of Kipps, Archibald Pitcairne and James Halkett had been appointed as Professors of Physic (Medicine) at Edinburgh, although none of them taught as far as is known. Law was offered at King's College, Aberdeen, and, *extra muros*, a renewal had taken place with the appearance, in the early 1680s, of two legal texts of crucial importance to the future discipline of Scots law: James Dalrymple, first Viscount Stair's (1619–1695) *Institutions* and Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh's (1636/1638–1691) work of the same name. There were also extramural lecturers in civil law teaching in Edinburgh. The Dutch influence on these developments was significant. At the opening of the Advocates' Library, Mackenzie had quoted the Dutch law professor Ulric Huber in his speech and, in the early 1680s, the judge Sir John Nisbet (1610–1688) had produced an 'Advyse to the Earle of Perth' (James Drummond (1648–1716)), a list of mainly Dutch law books which was to illustrate the importance of civil and canon law as the basis of the laws of all nations.[1] The foundation of institutions such as the Royal College of Physicians, the Physic Garden, and the Advocates' Library further contributed to this academic reform.

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[1] J. H. Loudon tr., 'Sir George Mackenzie's Speech at the Formal Opening of the Advocates' Library Edinburgh 15 March 1689', *Edinburgh Bibliographical Transactions*, 2 (1946), 275–284; EUL, La.II.89/147, 'Sir John Nisbits Advyse to the Earle of Perth'.

After the Williamite Revolution, this development towards modernization temporarily changed direction. The concerns to renew Scottish higher education survived the Revolution of 1688/9, and, as part of the Kirk's victory over episcopacy and comprehension, took on a new urgency with religious and political conformity at stake. Following on from the Revolution and in accordance with the impending Presbyterian Church settlement, a 'Commission for Visiting Universities Colledges & Schools' was appointed on July 4, 1690.[2] Its members were 'the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Argyle, Earl of Crawford, &c' plus 'sixty others, consisting of noblemen and gentlemen,' who were appointed as 'visitors'.[3] Many of these had been exiles in the United Provinces, including Gilbert Rule (c. 1629–1701), the strict Presbyterian principal of the University of Edinburgh who had been imprisoned for his religious convictions, Sir James Dalrymple and Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth. Although such initiatives were common after a change of power, this visitation was both severe and ambitious.[4] By the end of July 1690, the Commission had created a number of committees to attend the different universities, with an ever-changing membership.[5] Driven by political conviction and Presbyterian zeal, the Commissioners were keen to restore morality and Calvinism to the universities and their curriculum.

Piety and discipline were deemed crucial for the proper education of Scotland's youth, especially her future clergy. To the Commission, Episcopalianism, Arminianism, and Socinianism were all cause for concern. Every member of the university, including the librarians and the hall masters, was called before a university committee and questioned extensively about their religious beliefs and morals, as well as about the discipline within the university, students' church attendance, and observation of the Sabbath. The principal and the Professors of Divinity were also questioned on the 'books that are taught for sacred lessons', which concerned all the students. *The Whole Duty*

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[2] 'Act for Visitation of Universities, Colleges and Schools', *Evidence, Oral and Documentary*, i: University of Edinburgh, 36–7.

[3] 'Act for Visitation', i. 36.

[4] The visitation of 1690–5 can be compared to that of 1642. NAS, PA10, Visitation Papers. King, 'Philosophy and Science', 41–2.

[5] For example one 'List of Edinburgh Members on the Commission for Visiting Universities Colledges & Schools', dated 1699, gives sixty-two names and identifies twenty-nine additional members who joined in 1697.

NAS, PA10/2, Visitation Papers.

of Man and Grotius' *De Veritate Religionis Christianae*, were among the recommended texts.[6] Moreover, the committees demanded that every university member sign the Westminister Confession of Faith, take the oath of allegiance to the Crown, and submit to the Church government. This caused serious problems for the universities, as the Visitation Papers show at great length. In addition to the staff, textbooks, dictation, and book-buying also came under severe scrutiny.[7] Some men resigned before the visitors had a chance to remove them, most notably the medics Sibbald, Halkett, and Pitcairne at Edinburgh. Others, such as the principals of Glasgow, Edinburgh, and St Andrews, objected, claiming these were matters of individual conscience, and were subsequently outed.[8] In St Andrews, where Episcopalianism appears to have been a particular problem, Principal Skene of St Salvator's College protested 'for myselfe and in name of all the other Masters and Professors of the Universitie excepting Mr John Monro'.[9] The result was the removal of most Episcopalian professors and regents from Edinburgh, Glasgow and St Andrews—the Aberdeen colleges King's and Marischal escaped this fate—and the conforming of the rest to the new regime.[10] The virtuosi professors Gregory and Pitcairne both went to the United Provinces, the former on a study visit, the latter to teach at Leiden, although he only stayed for a year and probably never taught.[11]

Disappointed with the Williamite government, which cared little for Scottish Presbyterian concerns and was distracted by international affairs, the new regime's aspirations were as much intellectual as political. The Commission's concerns were both religious and educational. Having removed all 'Popish' elements and having made new

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[6] The first edition of Grotius' work printed in the British Isles dated from 1650. Hugo Grotius, *De Veritate Religionis Christianæ. Editio decima additis annotationibus* (Oxford, 1650) (and other editions). NAS, PA10/3, Visitation Papers Aberdeen.

[7] NAS, GD26/7/224, 'Instructions By the Commissioners Appointed for Visiting of Universities Colledges & Schools'.

[8] For the story of Gregory's trial, see EUL, Gregory Papers, Dk1.2 and R. K. Hannay, 'The Visitation of the College of Edinburgh in 1690', *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* (Edinburgh, 1916), 79–100.

[9] NAS, PA10/6, Visitation Papers St Andrews.

[10] Roger L. Emerson, *Professors, Patronage and Politics. The Aberdeen Universities in the Eighteenth Century* (Aberdeen, 1992), 10. For the story of the visitation of Edinburgh see Hannay, 'The Visitation of the College of Edinburgh' and Emerson, *Academic Patronage*, 213–24.

[11] He left without notifying the Senate or officially resigning: Molhuysen, *Bronnen der Leidsche Universiteit*, iv, 'Resoluties der Curatoren' (1692).

appointments, the Commission tackled the curriculum.[12] In 1692, a document entitled 'Overtures for the Visitation of Colleges' was put to the Visitation Commission by the delegates of the universities, listing a number of recommendations to improve both the curriculum and teaching methods. This initiative was taken up by the Commission and three years later the idea of a 'uniform course of philosphie to be hereafter taught in all the colledges' was introduced.[13] The universities were convinced of the need for a printed course of philosophy 'for we cannot think it adviseable that any course already printed can be fitt'. Many of the books and ideas that fell victim to the religious and moral purges of the universities and their curriculum had originally reached Scotland via the United Provinces, where many of the Commissioners had been in exile. This may seem an irony but their attack on many of the foreign and some of the more modern elements in the philosophy curriculum was inspired by Calvinist religiosity rather than by a rejection of what was Dutch and modern.

The universities were led by seemingly contradictory desires. On the one hand they agreed with the Commission's concern about 'popish' and 'prolix' elements, yet at the same time they were in favor of continuing the academic modernization started in the 1680s. The Visitation Papers show a fascinating struggle between new and old ideas, between the universities and their reactionary Commissioners, and, later on, about financial affairs as well. It appears that the universities became unhappy with their visitors' interference, which explains in part the ultimate failure of the attempt to establish a printed course of philosophy.[14] The efforts of the Visitation Commission appear to have been at odds with those of the virtuosi, but they were connected by a wish for educational reform and a desire to make the Scottish universities more into civic institutions, a response to the increasingly louder calls from the professions and the towns. The Dutch universities had been specifically established to serve the Dutch state. In Scotland, this would be introduced in the early eighteenth century after the appointment of William Carstares as the principal of the University of Edinburgh.

While Carstares had been originally taught by members of the Voetian circle, by the late 1680s he much preferred the Dutch model

[12] The term 'Popish' was a trope that did not necessarily refer to Catholicism.
[13] *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, ii. 513.
[14] King, 'Science and Philosophy', 54.

of toleration and open-mindedness to their orthodoxy. While in exile, he had become a favorite of the Stadholder William III, serving as his chaplain. After the Revolution he remained in his service, advising him on Scottish ecclesiastical and other affairs until William III's death in 1702. He had a longstanding interest in the Scottish universities. Already in 1691, while back in the United Provinces with King William III, his friend Edmund Calamy described how Carstares was looking for Dutch professors to fill the vacancies at the Scottish universities: '…one of his principal aims was to pick up some that might be fit and qualified to make masters of in the several Colleges of Scotland, which had been before either too much neglected, or filled with improper persons'.[15] Both Carstares and William III himself appear to have been keen to appoint Dutch professors.[16] Two years later Carstares obtained a 'Grant to the Universities of Scotland […] for the maintenance of professors and bursars in Divinity'.[17] It was to cover the 'maintenance of one professor of Divinity […] to be called Nomi- nated and Presented by their Maiesties and their Royal Successors from abroad […]'.[18] Moreover, it was also stipulated that the 'ten Bursers in Divinity in each Colledge' were to

> study Divinity by the direction and oversight of the Professors aforesaid by the space of two full yeares within one of the four Colledges aforesaid and the third year they are to goe abroad and study one year in a Protestant University by the direction of the Professors aforesaid whereby they may be instructed disposed and qualified to be Ministers of the Gospell as they shall have occasion to be called after their Returne and their three yeares of study in Divinity […].[19]

It seems that Glasgow was the only university to have put this scheme into action.[20]

After William II's death in 1702, Carstares was appointed principal of the University of Edinburgh. Supported by the Scottish Secretaries of State, John Erskine, 6th Earl of Mar (1675–1732); John Ker, 1st Duke of Roxburghe (1680–1741) and James Graham, 1st Duke and

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[15] Calamy, *Historical Account*, ed. John Towill Rutt, vol. i (London, 1830, 2nd ed.), 172.

[16] Quoted in Story, *William Carstares*, 215.

[17] Peter John Anderson (ed.), *Fasti Academiae Mariscallanae Aberdonensis* (3 vols, Aberdeen, 1889), i. 346–7.

[18] *Ibid*., 346.

[19] *Ibid*., 347.

[20] NLS, Wodrow Lett. Q. I.

4th Marquess of Montrose (1682–1742), Carstares set out to reform Edinburgh along the model of the Dutch civic universities. This coincided with actions taken by the Edinburgh town council to assert its authority and to discipline its professors.[21] Carstares's reign began with a confirmation in 1703 of the 'Forme and Ordour of Teaching and Proceiding of the Students in thair Foure Yeires Course in the Colledge of Edinburgh' by the Council and Provost of Edinburgh, which dated back to 1628. Significantly, this curriculum was not based on the acts or proposals of the Visitation Commission. The first two years of this program were dedicated to the study of Latin and Greek, the New Testament, and Ramus' Dialectics. In the second year, rhetoric, Aristotelian philosophy, arithmetic, and logic were added. The third and fourth years essentially elaborated on this, incorporating ethics and physics as well as the study of Hebrew. A year later, Carstares, as part of 'a committie to have under ther considderatione the complaints conteaned in the memoir given in to the Counsell against the masters of philosophie and students of the Colledge' introduced a number of disciplinary measures, followed by a total reform of the philosophy program in 1708.[22]

The result was a completely revised 'undergraduate' curriculum, in which 'all the parts of the Philosophy be taught in two years, as they are in the most famous Universities abroad'[23] The four existing regents became professors, each fixed to a different chair, namely Greek, logic, moral philosophy, and natural philosophy. The Regent of Humanity, who taught Latin, also obtained his own chair, and his class was now required to matriculate.[24] Although a sound knowledge of Greek was considered to be the basis of the philosophy program, it was no longer compulsory. As a result, many students forewent the classes of Greek and humanity and entered the philosophy course immediately if their Latin was good enough.[25] In 1708, Charles Morthland, Professor of

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[21] 'Acts of the Town Council anent the College and University, 15 February 1703, 22 October 1703', *Charters, Statutes and Acts of the Town Council and the Senatus 1583–1858*, ed. Alexander Morgan (Edinburgh, 1937), 138–56.

[22] *Ibid*., 21 June 1704; 5 September 1704, 156, 157–61.

[23] I.e. in the United Provinces, where the philosophy curriculum took 2.5 years. Carstares was very well informed about the structures and constitutions of the Dutch universities. *Ibid*., 16 June 1708, 164–6.

[24] EUL, Ms Gen. 1824.

[25] M. A. Stewart, 'The Origins of the Scottish Greek Chairs', in E. M. Craik (ed.), *'Owls to Athens'. Essays on Classical Subjects Presented to Sir Kenneth Dover* (Oxford, 1990), 395.

Oriental Languages at Glasgow, who was about to go to Utrecht to study Hebrew with Reland, described the new situation in Edinburgh. There were the four Professors of Philosophy, 'all Gentlemen of excellent liberal Education, who have studied Abroad as well as at home, Philosophy, Mathematicks and the Civil law, and some of them Divinity', and the Professor of Humanity, who also taught Roman history and oratory.[26] Just before his death in 1715, Carstares tried to obtain a royal endowment for a Chair in civil History to complement the one in Ecclesiastical History but this project failed due to his untimely death.[27] Already in 1693, he had appointed his brother-in-law William Dunlop (1653/4–1700) as Historiographer Royal; this interest in history went back to his time in the United Provinces. James Gregory, who had studied at Leiden in the 1670s, taught mathematics. The Faculty of Divinity consisted of William Carstares and George Meldrum as first and second Professors of Divinity; John Cumming, who was Carstares's protégé, as Professor of Ecclesiastical History; and John Goodal (d. 1719), as Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages. The latter was succeeded in 1719 by James Crawford (c. 1680–1731), who also held the Chair of Chemistry and Physic from 1713. Law and medicine were still largely in the hands of 'city gentlemen', the lawyers, surgeons, and physicians.[28] In 1698, the Faculty of Advocates had obtained its first Chair, in 'Civil Law in this Kingdome'—funded by the Scottish Parliament—although its occupant, Alexander Cunningham of Block, had never taught.[29] In 1707, Charles Erskine (1680–1763) was appointed Regius Professor of Public Law and the Law of Nature and Nations with support from the Scottish Secretary of State, Mar, and some likely input by Carstares. He immediately left for the United Provinces to study at Leiden, leaving Edinburgh without a law professor. Civil law was taught *extra muros* by James Craig, who would be appointed as Professor of Civil Law upon Carstares's recommendation in 1710. Botany as well was taught outside the University, although in

[26] Charles Morthland, *An Account of the Government of the Church of Scotland* (London, 1708), 22.

[27] EUL, Ms Gen. 1824, Dk.1.1/2.

[28] Morthland, An Account of the Government of the Church of Scotland, 22–24. Cf. John W. Cairns, 'The Origins of the Edinburgh Law School: the Union of 1707 and the Regius Chair', *Edinburgh Law Review*, 11 (2007), 300–48.

[29] *Ibid.*, 308, 314. Cf. Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham's Proposed Edition of the Digest'.

1706 Charles Preston (1660–1712) was appointed professor.[30] A proper medical school however, would not be established at Edinburgh until 1726.

Carstares' involvement in university affairs stretched beyond curricular reform and even beyond his own university. His brother-in-law, William Dunlop, was appointed principal at Glasgow with his patronage and his nephew, Alexander Dunlop (1684–1747), was made regent in 1704. Over the years, Carstares involved himself frequently with Glasgow, even after he became principal. John Stirling (1654–1727), Dunlop's successor, was his friend and shared many of his ideals, but sometimes disliked his meddling.[31] In 1709, Carstares appears to have supported Robert Sinclair as candidate for the Glasgow Chair of Hebrew and Oriental Languages, which went to Charles Morthland instead.[32] More importantly, he tried to obtain a Regius Chair of Ecclesiastical History for Alexander Dunlop but met resistance.[33] According to Robert Wodrow:

> This seems not to be soe much desired at that University; and the Queen's presentments, except to the Principale, have ever been in use here; and it's thought it may be of ill consequence, he being Extraordinary Preofessour of Divinity, the Court may very soon send doun persons to that post, who may be of very ill influence on this Church.

Alexander Dunlop's brother, William, became Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Edinburgh in 1720. At St Andrews, Carstares was also involved in the filling of chairs. He supported the strict Presbyterian principal James Hadow (1667–1747) in the creation of what became a sinecure Chair of Divinity in 1707 and in a proposed visitation of the University.[34]

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[30] 'Acts of the Town Council anent the College and University', 29 August 1705', in *Charters, Statutes and Acts of the Town Council*, 162–4.

[31] GUL, Ms Gen 204/58, Sir J.Stewart to John Stirling, Ms Gen 204/63, William Carstares to John Stirling. For Stirling's irritation with Carstares's meddling, see for instance Ms Gen 206/113.

[32] EUL, La.II. 577/3, 12. Cf. EUL, La.II. 407/13. GUL, Ms Gen 204/58, Lord Pollock to John Stirling, Ms Gen 205/67, the Earl of Sunderland to John Stirling, Ms Gen 206/64, 71, Charles Morthland to John Stirling. Carstares seems to have been irritated by this appointment. Ms Gen 204/100, William Carstares to John Stirling.

[33] GUL, Ms Gen 204/130,132, William Carstares to John Stirling. Cf. Wodrow, *Analecta*, 370–1.

[34] EUL, La.II. 577/17, James Hadow to William Carstares. Hadow had been a fellow exile in The Netherlands. Cf. App. II. Cf. Emerson, *Academic Patronage*, 408–11.

Although he never got his Dutch professors, Carstares did employ many Dutch-educated Scots to fill his new chairs. As the Chairs of Civil and Public Law and Medicine became established, the Faculty of Philosophy finally gained independence from Divinity, as it had in Leiden in 1657 when the States of the province of Holland adopted an edict confirming the separation of philosophy and theology. The classical and the oriental languages remained the basis for the philosophy curriculum, but for different reasons. Hebrew, although considered important to all arts students from a philological viewpoint, was no longer deemed crucial. The Chair of Greek was now fixed and re-modeled after the Dutch Chairs of Greek Language, History, and Eloquentia.[35] The Professor of Humanity also came to teach a course in Roman history and oratory like his Dutch counterparts Graevius, Gronovius, and Perizonius. In the now radically shortened philosophy courses, the scholastic works continued to be supplanted by Dutch textbooks, a development which the Visitation Commission had been unable to stop. In 1708, Morthland gave the following indicative list of 'Dutch' textbooks: 'De Vries or Le Clerk's Metaphysick', 'Puffendrof [sic] de Officio hominis & Civis, or Grotius de jure belli ac pacis', and 'Le Clerk's Physicks'.[36] Compared to the discussion of the philosophy curriculum in the 1690s, this was a transformation indeed.

The new Chairs of Medicine and Law were essentially established by the professions, yet Carstares should be credited with much of the groundwork. He enthusiastically lent them his support, using his influence first at court, and later with the secretaries of state Mar, Roxburghe and Montrose, as well as with the town council. The Chairs of Botany, Anatomy, Chemistry, Physic and Civil and Public Law were filled by 'Dutch' Scots and supplied with Dutch textbooks such as the ones Morthland noted. Many more were imported directly from the United Provinces.[37] In medicine, Boerhaave's teaching methods and students were in high demand. In law, both the Professor of Civil Law, Alexander Cunningham of Block, and the Professor of Public Law, and

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[35] Professor Graecae Linguae, Historiarum et Eloquentiae. Alexander Bower, *The History of the University of Edinburgh: Chiefly Compiled from Original Papers and Records, Never Before Published* (Edinburgh, 1817–30), 85. According to Bower, a divinity student from the University of Franeker, presumably a Scot, was appointed as assistant to the Professor of Greek in 1713. *Ibid*., 25.

[36] Morthland, *An Account of the Government of the Church of Scotland*, 22.

[37] Mijers, 'The Scottish-Dutch Trade' in: Brown & McDougall, *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*, 203–9.

Law of Nature and Nations, Charles Erskine, were sent to the United Provinces to study after their appointments. Although Cunningham never taught and it is unclear whether Erskine did, their Dutch education was certainly considered an essential part of Edinburgh's reform.[38] A preparatory course in Greek and Roman antiquities was coupled with the Chair of Civil Law after the example of Leiden where the Professors Gronovius and Perizonius had been teaching a similar course for Dutch law students since 1692.[39] From 1719 onwards, this course was taught by the newly-appointed Professor of Universal Civil History, Charles Mackie, Dutch-educated and a relative of Carstares, who would follow his Dutch teachers Gronovius, Perizonius, and especially Pieter Burman closely.

Ironically enough, the height of the Dutch influence came after Carstares's death, in the 1720s and 30s. The Faculty of Law and the medical school were established on Dutch models; clinical teaching was introduced following the Leiden pattern by Boerhaave's men, and, in due course, the other Scottish universities would follow the example of Edinburgh and reform along similar lines. By the middle of the eighteenth centuries, all Scottish universities had 'gone Dutch'. At Edinburgh, Glasgow and Marischal College, Aberdeen, oriental languages, law and medicine were almost exclusively taught by Dutch-educated Scots.[40] In addition to a direct Dutch influence on the shape of the curriculum, teaching methods and textbooks imported from the United Provinces continued to define the Scottish curriculum long after Carstares' death. Among the texts used there was a long list of Dutch works either produced in or imported from the United Provinces. In philosophy, De Vries' *Ontologia*, a longstanding classic for metaphysics, was joined by Heineccius' *Historia Philosophica* and his *Elementa Philosophiae Rationalis* for logic, Pufendorf for moral philosophy, Vossius on rhetoric, and Leusden's *Grammar* for Hebrew.[41] In law,

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[38] Cairns 'The Origins of the Edinburgh Law School'.

[39] John Spottiswood, *A Discourse Shewing the Necessary Qualifications of a Student of the Laws: And what is Propos'd in the College of Law, History and Philology, Establish'd at Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1704).

[40] The situation at St Andrews and King's College, Aberdeen was rather different. Paul Wood, *The Aberdeen Enlightenment: The Arts Curriculum in the Eighteenth Century* (Aberdeen, 1993), 121. I am grateful to Roger Emerson for providing me with a list of professors at the Scottish universities in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

[41] Gerard de Vries, *De Natura Dei et Humanae Mentis Determinationes Pneumatolicae* (Ultrajecti, ex. off. J. vande Water bibl., 1690) 8° (and other editions),

Van Muyden was used alongside the compendia by Vinnius, Voet and Boeckelmann and Grotius' *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*.[42] Medicine was taught from Boerhaave.[43] Additionally, history was taught from Dutch editions of Turretini for ecclesiastical, and Tursellinus for universal history.[44] In 1741, the Scots Magazine published a 'Short Account of the University of Edinburgh', according to which the Professors of Moral Philosophy, Logic, and Hebrew, as well as the law professors, all still taught from Dutch textbooks.[45] The Dutch domination, however, began to wane around 1740, paralleling the drop in the number of Scottish students at the Dutch universities and the changing nature of the book trade.[46] Already in 1737, the Edinburgh surgeon and medical teacher George Young wrote to William Sinclair of Freswick, a medical student at Leiden, about the prestige of a Dutch MD: 'I think it a thing of small moment for your reputation whether it be at Leyden or Rheims or anywhere else […] at least any small respect that is payd to the place is quite forgot in a twelve month.'[47] In 1745, Alexander Carlyle was even less impressed by the Dutch and their teaching. The lectures were very dull and Carlyle and his friends did not often attend them:

Johann Gottlieb Heineccius, *Elementa Philosophiae Rationalis et Moralis*. 4th ed. (Amstelaedami, imp. J. G. Conradi, 1730) 8° (and other editions), *Idem*, *Elementa Historiae Philosophicæ in Usum Auditorii Conscripta*. Editio octava. (Berolini, 1743) 8° (and other editions). I was unable to find an earlier edition of this. Heineccius was not published in Britain until the second half of the eighteenth century. Samuel von Pufendorf, *De Jure Naturae et Gentium. Libri Octo* Corr. enl. ed. (Amstelodami, ap. A. ab Hoogenhuysen, 1688) 4° (and other editions). Although Pufendorf was a German, he was often read in Dutch editions. Gerardus Johannes Vossius, *Rhetorices Contractae Sive Partitionum Oratoriarum Libri V*. 2nd Corr. ed. (Lugduni Batavorum, ex. off. J. Maire, 1627) 8° (and other editions). Incidentally, Vossius wrote many more books on rhetoric. Johannes Leusden, *Philologus Hebraeus* (Ultrajecti, ap. M. a Dreunen Typ., 1656) 4° (and other editions).

[42] Steven van Muyden, *Disputatio Juridica Inauguralis* (Trajecti ad Rhenum, ap. G. vande Water Typ., 1721).

[43] EUL, La.II 90/10, John Mitchell to Charles Mackie. The first British editions of Boerhaave's texts appeared in 1715. The *STCN* lists a total of 65 British editions of Boerhaave's many works.

[44] Jean Alphonse Turretin, *Pyrrhonismus Pontificius, Sive These Theologico-Historicae*, ed. Friedrich Spanheim (Lugduni Batavorum, ap. A. Elsevier Typ., 1692). For Tursellinus, see below. 'A Short Account of the University of Edinburgh'.

[45] 'A Short Account of the University of Edinburgh, the Present Professors in it, and the Several Parts of Learning Taught by Them', *The Scots Magazine* (1741), 371–4.

[46] Cf. GUL, Ms Gen 83/14,15, Alexander Dunlop to William Dunlop. EUL, La.II 91c/47, Alexander Dunlop to Charles Mackie.

[47] NAS, GD136/376/1, George Young to William Sinclair.

'Having heard all they could say in a much better form, at home, we went but rarely and for Form's Sake only to Hear the Dutchmen.'[48]

Outside the universities, the Dutch experience also contributed to shaping Scotland. After their return to Scotland, Dutch-educated students came to play different roles in society. Those exiles who had returned with William of Orange were rewarded for supporting the Revolution and appointed to high office. Their immediate impact on the political and religious life of Scotland has been described in part by Ginny Gardner.[49] The success of Carstares' reforms in meeting professional demands and offering Scottish students a polite education at home as an alternative to the universities abroad, can be seen by looking at the 'post-Revolution' generation. They did not simply follow in their fathers' political footsteps but also entered the professions or became academics. A significant number of the members of the Faculty of Advocates between 1680 and 1730 had studied at a Dutch university, as had many judges.[50] The medical establishment was also largely Dutch-educated. The virtuosi professors Sir Robert Sibbald of Kipps, Archibald Pitcairne and James Halkett had all studied in the United Provinces as had the Carstares' appointees Charles Preston and James Crawford. The founder of the Edinburgh medical school, Alexander Monro *primus* (1697–1767), and his close cooperator the botanist Charles Alston (1685–1760), Monro's father the surgeon John Monro (b. 1670, d. 1740) and his son and successor Alexander Monro *secundus* (1733–1817) were all Leiden educated. So was the Glasgow Professor of Anatomy and Botany Thomas Brisbane. In the re-established Scottish Kirk as well, Dutch-educated Scots played a role of major importance. Half of the Kirk's moderators in the 1690s had been in the United Provinces.[51] The principals of Edinburgh, Gilbert Rule and William Carstares, of Glasgow, William Dunlop and of St Andrews, James Hadow, had all been exiles and students at Utrecht. Some families sent several generations of sons: the Bogles, merchants in Glasgow; the Clerks of Penicuik, advocates, politicians, merchants

[48] Carlyle, *Anecdotes and Characters*, 89.
[49] Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, 178–206.
[50] N. T. Phillipson, *The Scottish Whigs and the Reform of the Court of Session 1785–1830* (Edinburgh, 1990).
[51] J. Warrick, *The Moderators of the Church of Scotland from 1690 to 1740* (Edinburgh and London, 1913).

and improvers; the Dalrymples, advocates and politicians; the Dunlops, university professors; the Gregories, mathematicians and university professors; and many others. The leading politicians of the day, including Archibald Campbell (1682–1761), Earl of Ilay and third Duke of Argyll, one of Scotland's most important political managers; his successor John Stuart**,** third earl of Bute (1713–1792); his younger brother James Stuart Mackenzie (1717–1800), the Lord Privy Seal; and Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, Lord Milton, Ilay's agent in Edinburgh, were all educated in the United Provinces. To such men, as was the case for the Dutch regents and their sons, the study of civil law in the United Provinces was considered 'a useful part of political education.'[52]

In a small nation such as Scotland, those educated at a Dutch university had a distinct advantage. To fully appreciate this, it is important to put their numbers in perspective. Roger Emerson has suggested that the population of educated and literate Scots was estimated at 19,750 men by 1750.[53] Population growth and other caveats aside, if we take the one thousand students, who definitely matriculated between 1680 and 1730, to constitute two generations, and, like Emerson, we assume that half of one generation lasted the next generation, some 750 of that population would have been Dutch-educated, or close to 4 percent. In reality, their numbers would have been much higher although it is impossible to estimate how high. The sizes of the different Scottish communities abroad have been wildly overplayed and suggestions of tens of thousands of Dutch-educated Scots, in the broadest possible terms, must simply be relegated to the realm of fantasy.[54] What is certainly true, however, is that Dutch-educated Scots punched well above their weight. They were the men who had called for educational change and who subsequently were able to take advantage of all the world of learning had to offer. For most, this would be the books and learned journals, which came out of the Republic of Letters.

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[52] John W. Cairns, 'William Crosse, Regius Professor of Civil Law in the University of Glasgow, 1746–1749: A Failure of Enlightened Patronage', *History of Universities*, XII (1993), 159–196, 161.

[53] Roger L. Emerson, 'How many Scots were Enlightened?', in: *Idem*, *Essays on David Hume, Medical Men and the Scottish Enlightenment*, 39–49, 41.

[54] Mijers & Murdoch, 'Migrant Destinations', 335–6.

The Book Trade

The universities were not the sole beneficiaries of the Dutch education of the Scots. The Scottish-Dutch book trade also soared as a result. When we look at the private libraries of individual students, the Dutch impact becomes clear. Both the type of publications they owned as well as their provenance say a great deal about the changes in Scottish education and about what was deemed of importance for a student's wider education. The library of Lord George Douglas (1667/8?–1693), who studied law in Utrecht in 1686, illustrates some of the new trends away from strict orthodoxy, which would gain momentum after the Revolution of 1688/9.[55] His library focused on two main areas, law and the classics.[56] He owned all the standard legal texts by Grotius, Vinnius and Voet, the French authors and the Spanish and German commentators such as Suarez (1548–1617) and Pufendorf (1632–1694), as well as the works of Selden (1584–1654), Hobbes (1588–1679), Bacon (1561–1626) and Locke (1632–1704). It also contained other well-known Dutch legalists such as Boeckelmann, Huber, Matthaeus and Wissenbach. He had Dutch philosophy and theology and owned texts by Descartes, Leclerc, Bayle, Graswinckel (1600/01–1666), but also Spanheim. Oddly enough, he only had one book by Gronovius and none by Graevius. Although Lord George's library was accumulated during his Grand Tour of Europe, the basis had been formed during his time in Utrecht. Significantly, about 20 percent of his library was Dutch, and many more books were acquired in the United Provinces by his tutor Alexander Cunningham, whose preferences and opinions on texts and authors are reflected in Lord George's library. Cunningham also made recommendations to Sir George Mackenzie of Delvine, who studied in Leiden in 1708.[57] Mackenzie also owned Vinnius, Voet, Wissenbach and Huber, as well as such classics as Xenophon, Livy, Cicero and Dionysius Halicarnassus. He owned Vauban's treatise on fortification and a set of chronological tables by Helvicus.[58] Lord

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[55] Lord George Douglas did not matriculate but is known to have studied law in Utrecht in 1686.

[56] Kelly, 'Lord George Douglas and his Library'; Kelly, *The Library of Lord George Douglas*; Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham's Proposed Edition of the Digest'.

[57] He matriculated on 31 December 1707 in the Faculty of Law. *Album Scholasticum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae*.

[58] NLS, Mss 1118/59–83, George Mackenzie to his father. Vauban wrote several works of fortification, and many other authors based their works on his. It is not clear

George Douglas's and Mackenzie's libraries clearly differed from the one Carstares described in 1685. Filled with the classics, history and the main legal compendia of the day, these were libraries fit for a gentleman-lawyer. They offered a broad and polite education, as opposed to the much more specific texts of a student of divinity well versed in Voetian orthodoxy.

Another inventory worth looking at is that of the library of William Mure of Glanderstone, who studied medicine at Leiden from 1700 until 1703.[59] His was a good-sized student library of around 115 titles, more comparable to the one William Carstares described in 1685. Although only 10 percent of his books were by Dutch authors, many more would have been published in the United Provinces, in particular the classics. Unfortunately Mure did not list any details of his books, making it virtually impossible to identify which editions he owned. Like so many of the post-Revolution generation seeking politeness abroad, William Mure received the type of humanist education that was typical of any Scottish gentleman. Law, the classics, and modern languages feature prominently in his inventory. A sound knowledge of Latin and a good education in both Greek and especially Roman antiquity were considered necessary aids for any polite gentleman, including physicians. Mure owned, amongst others, works by Livy, Tacitus, Virgil, Horace, Cicero, Ovid, Caesar, as well as the Greek writers Hesiod, Polybius, Thucydides and Herodotus. Whether he read the latter in Greek or their Latin translation is not clear, but he certainly had a book on Greek language and one on the Greek republics. He also had a copy of Perizonius' chronological tables, suggesting he took

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which title or edition Mackenzie owned. Helvicus is Christoph Helwig, the author of *Theatrum Historicum et Chronologicum* (Oxoniae, 1651). Mackenzie probably owned the English translation: *The Historical and Chronological Theatre of Christopher Helvicus, Distributed into Equal Intervals of Tens, Fifties and Hundreds: with an Assignation of Empire, Kingdoms, Governments, Kings, Electours, Princes, Roman Popes, Turkish Emperours, and Other Famous and Illustrious Men, Prophets, Divines, Lawyers, Physicians, Philosophers, Oratours, Poets, Historians, Hereticks, Rabbins, Councils, Synods, Academies, &c. and also of the Usual Epochaes. Faithfully done into English According to the Two Best Editions, Viz. that of Francofurt, and that of Oxford. And Inlarg'd with Additions All Throughout, and Continued Down to the Present Times* (London, printed by M. Flesher, for George West and John Crosley, Booksellers in Oxford, 1687) 2°.

[59] 'Catalogue of Books belonging to William Mure (afterwards of Caldwell & Glanderstone)—Leyden 1700–1703', in: *Caldwell Papers*, 220–223. On 1 May 1700, a Guilielmus Glandstans matriculated at Leiden in the Faculty of Medicine. Cf. *Album Scholasticum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae.* It is unlikely that he ever practiced.

an interest in the chronological debates of the day, and several other textbooks on antiquity.[60] His interest in history extended beyond the classics to modern history and politics, both French and English. He showed a considerable interest in modern history as well as politics and current affairs and owned an unidentified *History of Louis XIV* and Bodin's *Six Livres de la République*, and also a copy of Tursellinus' *Epitomen Historiarum*, the standard text on universal history, a 'Dutch almanack' and four years of the *Mercure Historique*, a French learned journal. He also owned two Italian grammars, an Italian dictionary and another unidentified grammar and dictionary. He already seems to have had French as the books in his catalogue were of an advanced level, well above textbooks, including two on polite education. Lastly, he had several 'Scots' maps' and an atlas—perhaps by Blaeu—but nothing on fortification or geometry, which many others owned. He also had several legal texts: a *Corpus Juris*, separate copies of the *Institutes* and the *Digests*, Vinnius' commentary on the *Institutes* and Voet's compendium of the *Digests*, and Grotius' *De Belli ac Pacis*. Aside from these, he also owned several of Pufendorf's major works, most importantly *De Iure Naturae et Gentium*, and one unidentifiable work by Vitriarius.[61] Mure also had a number of books on canon law, a text on church history by the ever-popular orthodox church historian Spanheim and the acts of the Synod of Dordt. His religious persuasion is underlined by standard pious fare such as Calvin's *Institutes*, Buchanan's *Psalms*, a Hebrew psalter and two Bibles, one in English and one in French. Interestingly enough, Mure's medical books were mainly in French, most likely because he took his degree in France. He had two copies of Jacques Rohault's *Tractatus Physicus*, an original and a French translation by Antoine Le Grand, Jean Leclerc *Physica*, and a 'Catalogue of [medical or anatomical] rarities-Leyden'.[62]

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[60] Perizonius, *Tabulae Chronologicae* (Leiden, Van der Aa, 1714). The fact that Mure had a copy as a student in 1700–1703 would suggest these were available before 1714 as a student copy or notes.

[61] S. Pufendorf, *De Jure Naturae et Gentium Libri Octo* (Londini Scanorum [Lund]: sumtibus Adami Junghans imprimebat Vitus Haberegger, acad. typogr., anno 1672) 4°. He also owned one of Pufendorf's histories, probably *Introduction to the History of the Principal Realms and States as They Currently Exist in Europe* (1682–1686). It is unclear if his Vitriarius was by Phillipus Reinhardus, his law professor at Leiden, or his son, Johannes Jacobus, who taught at Utrecht at the time.

[62] J. Rohault, *Traité de Physique* (Amsterdam, D. Elzevier, 1672) 12° *Idem*, Tractatus Physicus, ann. A. Le Grand (Amstelaedami, ap. J. Pauli, 1691) 8°; J. Le Clerc, *Physica sive De Rebus Corporeis Libri Quinque* (Amstelodami, ap. G. Gallet, 1696), 12°.

William Mure's inventory was very modern even when compared to Lord George Douglas' library. There was a noticeable gap between his medical texts, which were mainly in French, and his books on law and history, which he acquired for his general polite education and were all still in Latin. He owned no books on philosophy, a clear indication that a polite arts education in history and law was now the preparatory program. Mure's inventory is representative of those of later students and shows how much had changed by 1700, both in terms of what was on offer in the United Provinces and what Scots were interested in buying and reading.

Scottish students in the United Provinces were very well informed of the latest and best publications. The books listed in the libraries of William Carstares, Lord George Douglas, George Mackenzie of Delvine and William Mure were largely acquired during their stays in the United Provinces. Book buying was an important pursuit and took up a considerable amount of time and money. When Sir John Clerk of Penicuik wrote to his father about the books he had acquired, he stressed not only their monetary value but added that they were 'all choice books and few of them to be got in Scotland.'[63] Although his father was not impressed with his son's spending, Sir John himself was pleased with his purchases. He had managed to start a nice library at a much more reasonable price than he would have paid in Scotland. In fact, many works were not even available in Scotland, which had a very limited book industry. The United Provinces, however, had an international reputation for its book trade. Throughout the seventeenth and the best part of the eighteenth centuries, the country was known as the 'intellectual entrepôt of Europe'.[64] The combination of a highly literate population, relative religious toleration and the near-absence of censorship for works not printed in Dutch, appealed to both authors and publishers alike. Economic prosperity and extensive domestic and international markets attracted an international workforce of, among others, English Puritans, and, after 1685 especially,

[63] NAS, GD18/5197/16, Sir John Clerk to his father.

[64] Gibbs, 'The Role of the Dutch Republic as the Intellectual Entrepôt of Europe'. For the best overviews of the Dutch book industry in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, see: I. H. van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse Boekhandel 1680–1725*, 5 vols (Amsterdam, 1980), E. F. Kosmann, *De Boekhandel te 's-Gravenhage tot het Eind van de Achttiende Eeuw* ('s-Gravenhage, 1937) and www.bibliopolis.nl.

French Huguenot craftsmen.[65] For many Scottish students, especially those of the post-revolution generation, buying books and discussing the latest publications meant being part of the wider world of learning; their student status granted them access.

The seventeenth century was arguably the high point of the Dutch book industry. Book historians have defined this in terms of Dutch presence at the German book fairs, which began to decline towards the end of the century, only to be replaced by a bookseller-to-bookseller exchange.[66] As a result, the period 1680–1730 was very much a transitional phase. On the one hand, the Dutch book industry saw itself deprived of some of its biggest names that had contributed to the rise of the country as the publishing house of Europe when the houses of Elsevier and Blaeu were left without successors. On the other hand, the arrival of great numbers of French Huguenot refugees gave a new lease of life to the book trade and took the industry in a new direction—that of French scholarship—and introduced a new type of publication, the French learned journal.[67] The extensive European-wide Huguenot networks boosted the circulation of these journals as well as of books and ideas well beyond the Dutch borders.[68] At the same time, French scholarship was beginning to replace Latin humanist learning. The role of the Dutch book trade consequently changed significantly after 1700. The noticeable 'shift from Latin to French' ensured that the Dutch Republic's role of entrepôt 'changed from an intellectual service to an economic one', specializing in Dutch editions of the classics.[69]

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[65] Tammel, *The Pilgrims and Other People*, Rendel Harris and Stephen K. Jones., *The Pilgrim Press: A Bibliographical & Historical Memorial of the Books Printed at Leyden by the Pilgrim Fathers* (Nieuwkoop, 1987); G. C. Gibbs, 'Some Intellectual and Political Influences of the Huguenot Emigrés in the United Provinces, c. 1680–1730', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* (1990), 255–287.

[66] Roger Chartier, Magasin de l'Univers ou Magasin de la République? Le Commerce du Livre Néerlandais aux XVII^{e} et XVIII^{e} Sciècles', in: Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Le Magasin de l'Univers*, 293–4.

[67] For example, it has been calculated that of the 230 booksellers in Amsterdam between 1680 and 1725, more than 100 belonged to the Walloon Church and 80 were Huguenot refugees. Gibbs, 'Some Intellectual and Political Influences 272–274.

[68] Hans Bots, 'Le Rôle des Périodiques Néerlandaises pour la Diffusion du Livre (1684–1747), in: Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Le Magasin de l'Univers*, 50. Cf. Wijnand W. Mijnhardt, 'Dutch Culture in the Age of William and Mary: Cosmopolitan or Provincial?', in: Hoak Feingold, *The World of William and Mary*, 219–234, 219–234.

[69] Mijnhardt, 'Dutch Culture in the Age of William and Mary', 220.

This Latin trade was given a further boost by the wars with France.[70] The Dutch-Scottish book trade at the start of the eighteenth century reflected all of these developments. Dutch editions of the classics and compendia on law and medicine became the mainstay of the Scottish-Dutch book trade, while at the same time French learned journals made their way into the private libraries of individuals.

Books were imported into Scotland from the United Provinces throughout the early modern period. As a small, largely rural country, Scotland had a very limited domestic market. Its poverty put severe economic constraints on any potential book industry. In addition, a government monopoly on printing meant that Scotland's printers could not compete with books from the Continent, which were cheaper and of better quality.[71] This situation meant that most books deemed of interest to the small reading public had to come from abroad, the United Provinces in particular.

Proof of this consumption of foreign books can be found in the country's private and institutional libraries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as well as in the individual student libraries. Aldis' *List of Books Printed in Scotland Before 1700* and the *Bibliographia Aberdonensis, 1641–1700* confirm this.[72] Few books by foreign authors or editors were printed in Scotland before 1700. Instead, books were imported to Scotland directly from the United Provinces, as were the ideas expressed in them. A look at the *English Short-Title Catalogue* (*ESTC*) gives an impressive number of Dutch publications. For instance, over 1,700 titles were printed in the United Provinces between 1600 and 1730, in the English language alone—many more were published in Latin—of which 1,091 were published in Amsterdam, 261 in The Hague, 125 in Middelburg, 119 in Rotterdam and 88 in Leiden. The

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[70] P. G. Hoftijzer, 'Het Nederlandse Boekenbedrijf en de Verspreiding van Engelse Wetenschap in de Zeventiende an Vroege Achttiende Eeuw', in: *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis* (Leiden, 1998), 59–71, 67.

[71] For a more general overview, see Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade*; Alastair J. Mann & Sally Mapstone (eds), *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland, Volume 1: Medieval to 1707* (Edinburgh, 2012); Brown & McDougall, *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*.

[72] Harry G. Aldis, *A List of Books Printed in Scotland Before 1700 Including those Printed Furth of the Realm for Scottish Booksellers* (Edinburgh, 1970), *Bibliographia Aberdonensis, 1641–1700* (Aberdeen, 1930). The National Library Scotland is in the early stages of planning a completely revised and enlarged edition of Aldis. For more information, see http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/resources/scotbooks/introduction.

book trade between Scotland and the Continent in general, and with the United Provinces in particular, was a one-sided affair. Individual library catalogues and inventories therefore provide a much better insight into the reading habits and different fields of interest of Scottish book buyers than Aldis' list. The analysis here is indicative and a great deal of work remains to be done.[73]

For much of the seventeenth century, the Scottish-Dutch book trade was characterized by religious concerns and events. Theological and devotional works were of course popular with strict Presbyterians. There were close ties between the Restoration exiles and Voetius. The influence of the Scots on this circle was substantial. Voetius himself is said to have been influenced in his *Theologia Practica* by the Scottish theologians.[74] Its members also helped with the editing and publication of several Scottish covenanter works.[75] The Scots Kirk in Rotterdam was the center for exile theological debate and its ministers were closely connected to Voetius' circle. Koelman and Borstius published translations of works by James Stewart, William Guthrie (1620–1665) and several other Presbyterian divines, including Samuel Rutherford.[76] The United Provinces was also the only country, outside the British Isles, where his works were published during the seventeenth century, as a result of the activities of Robert Macward. In 1668, he submitted his edited manuscript of Rutherford's *Examen Arminianismi* to the Utrecht theologians and staunch Voetians Matthias Nethenus, Andreas Essenius and Voetius himself. Nethenus and Voetius added a preface acknowledging MacWard's role and a short biography, and supervised its publication.[77] MacWard's success opened further intellectual avenues at Utrecht and beyond. The same trio, with help from the well-known biblical scholar and Professor of Hebrew at Utrecht, Johannes Leusden, also published a Latin translation of the Bible by the exiled minister John Livingstone (1603–1672), which had been left unedited upon his death. MacWard was very close to Voetius and

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[73] The National Library Scotland's *Scottish Book Trade Index (SBTI)* does not yet include the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For an overview of Low Countries' imprints currently held in the Scottish research libraries, see Kelly, *Low Countries Imprints in Scottish Research Libraries*.

[74] Gardner, '*The Scottish Exile Community*', 126.

[75] *Ibid.*, 125. Cf. Jardine, 'The United Societies', 28.

[76] See H. Florijn, 'Borstius, Jacobus', *Biografisch Lexicon voor de Geschiedenis van het Nederlands Protestantisme*, III (Kampen, 1988), 49–50 and J. A. Ruys, 'Koelman, Jacobus', *Ibid.* (Kampen, 2001), V, 302–303.

[77] *Examen Arminianismi* (Utrecht, 1668).

Nethenus and Brown had admirers in Professors Melchior Leydecker at Utrecht and Friedrich Spanheim at Leiden.[78] There were also secret presses in Leiden, Amsterdam and Rotterdam, which published orthodox theological material and propaganda.[79] These activities ceased after the Williamite Revolution.

At the same time there existed a larger dynamic trade in conventional, especially academic, works, which continued well into the eighteenth century. For instance, the virtuosi physicians Sibbald, Halkett and Pitcairne, and the lawyers Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall (1646–1722) and Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh all acquired large parts of their collections from Dutch publishers and booksellers.[80] The Advocates' Library created in Edinburgh by Mackenzie imported books from the United Provinces from its foundation in 1682 and throughout the eighteenth century.[81] Robert Wodrow as librarian of the University of Glasgow from 1698 until 1703 also bought Dutch books for his library and kept up with the latest publications and scholarship.[82] He was in close correspondence with many of the Scottish students in the United Provinces, especially the Hamilton bursaries, and knew some of the Dutch professors, including the Voetian Gerard de Vries.[83] He asked them to buy books for the Glasgow library, or sometimes only asked them for information about the Republic of Letters. For instance, in 1699 Wodrow told Matthew Simson at Leiden that for

> the books to the library I referr you to my brothers letter. I desire you may buy for my self Placet de la foi divine at 14 sts., La bête transformé en machine, Fleuryes methode d'études at 6 stiv., Moni Critique de la

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[78] Ginny Gardner, 'Livingstone, John (1603–1672)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16809, accessed 15 Jan 2010.

[79] P. G. Hoftijzer, *Engelse Boekverkopers bij de Beurs. De Geschiedenis van de Amsterdamse Boekhandels Bruyning en Swart, 1637–1724* (Amsterdam & Maarssen, 1987); Cf. KeitSprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, Ch. 15, Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade*, Ch. 3.

[80] *Catalogus Bibliothecae Sibbaldianae Secundam Scientas et Artes Digestus* (Edinburgh, Andreae Symson, 1707), NLS, Mf. 793 (2), *The Sale Catalogue of the Library of Archibald Pitcairn* (Edinburgh, 1718), NLS, Mf. 161.

[81] Brian Hillyard, 'The Formation of the Library, 1682–1728' in: Patrick Caddel & Ann Matheson (eds), *For the Encouragement of Learning: Scotland's National Library, 1689–1989* (Edinburgh, 1989), 23–66, and Alex M. Cain, 'Foreign Books in the 18th-Century Advocates' Library', in: *Ibid*., 110–118.

[82] NLS, Wodrow Papers, Wodr. Lett. Qu. I (1–199), Sharp, *Early Letters of Robert Wodrow*.

[83] *Ibid*.

> Coutomes & creance at 1 gilder, and Henrici Christiani Henninii de accentibus Ultraject, '84 8vo at 10 or 12 stivers

He also asked him to find out the price of a polyglot Bible, announced in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*.[84] Not long after Wodrow wrote again to Simson, who was by now in London and had clearly not responded. Again, a large part of the letter consisted of a long list of book orders:

> I desire you may buy for the library these following: Philosophicall Transactions, begin at Sept. '98 as far as are come out; Athenian Mercury, begin at vol. 18 as far as are come out; Du Pine [*The history of the ecclesiastical writers*] from the 13 century as far as are come out; Lock and Stillingfleets Letters (you [know] we have the 2nd letter of Locks and 2nd answer of Stillingfleets; any other that are published, buy); as also [Jean] Le Clerks additions to Hammond on the Neu Testament translated into English; Nichols Conference [*with a Theist*] pt. 4; the History of the works of the learned, beginning Jan. '98/99 as far as are come out; Potters Greek antiquityes vol. 2nd; Whistouns Vindication of his theory from the exceptions of Mr Hills; any other papers we have not on that controversy between Boyle and Bentley—the last we have on that heed is Ane answer to a late pamphlet (quhich we have [called] ane Essay on criticall and curiouse learning, Oxon. Aug. 6 '98; as also the Method to Science solidly demonstrated by J. S. the answerer to Locke. Pray let me knou if ther be any hopes of a 2d edition of Stillingfleets Origines Sacrae out of his papers, as also the nature of that design I see proposed in the Gazets, Catalogus universalis librorum in omni facultate linguaque insignium.

He further added an order for parts of a microscope and a copy of 'Comber against Clerkson or the Scholasticall history of liturgyes.' In 1701 he wrote to 'Mr. Math. Connell at Leyden' saying he was

> weel satisfied with the books you have bought. I hope you will get quhat more you can of them befor you leave Holland' and then asked him to find a copy of an older work by Conrad Kircher as well as the 'last moneth of the Hist.[oire] des ouv.[rages] Des Scavans.[85]

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[84] *Histoire Critique de la Creance et des Coutumes des Nations du Levant. Publiee par le Sr. de Moni* (Franckfort, 1684). This was a pseudonym for Richard Simon; *Henrici Christiani Henninii Hellenismos Orthôidos, Seu, Graeca Linguam Non Esse Pronunciandam Secundum Accentus Dissertatio Paradoxa: Qua Legitima & Antiqua Linguae Graecae Pronunciatio & Modulatio Demonstratur: Atque Obiter De Linguis Earumque Fatis Disputatur; Addita Est Seorsum Isaaci Vossii, V. Cl. De Accentibus Graecanicis Sentential* (Utrecht, 1684).

[85] Sharp, *Early Letters of Robert Wodrow*, 158.

He also instructed him to try 'if Vervey of Messrs du Port Royall have wrote ane Hebrew grammar, & buy them'.

The story of Wodrow and the Advocates' Library is not new but far less is known about the individuals responsible for and active in the thriving Scottish-Dutch book trade and their role in the resulting intellectual exchange, especially on the Dutch side. Even more than was the case generally, the Scottish-Dutch trade was virtually entirely dependent on individuals. The Scottish infrastructure, students and Grand Tourists were of vital importance as importers, but also as correspondents, highlighting new and significant publications, discussing the latest ideas that were circulating and preparing editorial projects. Without the significant presence of the Scottish students, the book trade would have been without eyes and ears and often without purse.

When Scottish visitors to the United Provinces arrived, they usually brought some books with them, normally at least a Bible and one or more travel guides, depending on the length and extent of their trip.[86] Students often also brought textbooks, possibly ones they had used before. Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, for example, carried a Bible, three texts on logic, including his own lecture notes, one on metaphysics, one on ethics, a Greek grammar, a copy of the New Testament in Greek, Justinian's *Institutes*, Boeckelmann's *Compendium*, an unidentified work by Grotius, a book on warfare and a few miscellaneous other texts.[87] His brother William also brought a Bible, the *Westminister Confession of Faith*, a copy of George Buchanan's *Psalms*, Euclid's *Elements*, some basic textbooks and his own notes on logic, metaphysics and ethics.[88] Most Scots, however, left the United Provinces with many more books than with which they had arrived. Eighteen months after his arrival, Sir John Clerk had 'scraped together a collection of excellent books to the value of betwixt four and five hundred guilders worth…', which was worth almost twelve times as much as the one he had brought

[86] For more information on guidebooks consulted by tourists, see: Van Strien, *British Travellers*, 41–49.

[87] NAS, GD18/2300, Clerk of Penicuik Papers. J. F. Böckelmann, *Compendium Institutionem Justiniani Sive Elementa Juris Civilis in Brevem et Facilem Ordinem Redacta* (Lugduni Batav., apud Felicem Lopez, 1679) (and other editions), Grotius' text most likely was an edition of *de Iure Belli ac Pacis*. It is impossible to identify the other texts.

[88] NAS, GD 18/2307/8, Clerk of Penicuik Papers. It is impossible to identify the texts or their editions.

with him.[89] In reality his books were worth even more as he wrote in a letter to his uncle David Forbes.[90] But not all students acquired books for personal use. Many also bought for family members, friends and other contacts, which they often specifically ordered. Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, for instance, placed numerous specific orders with his nephew Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, while he was a student at Leiden in the years 1715–1716.[91] George Bogle of Daldowie sent books to 'Dr [Thomas] Brisbane' (1684–1742?) and William Anderson (d.1752), Professors of Anatomy and Botany and Ecclesiastical History at Glasgow, during his time at Leiden from 1725 to 1727.[92]

Books in the United Provinces were sold by booksellers directly in their shops, at auction and, occasionally, by subscription. David Forbes asked Sir John Clerk to buy him a number of books 'if you could at auctions or otherwise.'[93] Buying at auction was one of the cheapest ways to obtain books. Works printed by the large international printing houses, such as Elsevier, were generally considered 'best', as James Clerk explained in a letter to his brother, but Scots also made their purchases in the many smaller bookshops in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, 'the centre of all English affairs and business in these Provinces', The Hague, and the university towns of Leiden and Utrecht.[94] Knowledge of books for sale came through individual booksellers' direct contact with their buyers, both at home and abroad, and the authors, agents and merchants who acted to keep their clients informed of the latest arrivals they had packed and shipped.[95] Like the general merchants, booksellers also had a wider social function and gave advice to newly-arrived students on university courses and professors and fitted them

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[89] NAS, GD 18/5197/16, John Clerk to his father.

[90] NAS, GD 18/5197/17, John Clerk to David Forbes.

[91] Irene J. Murray (ed.), 'Letters of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun to his family, 1715–16, *Scottish Historical Society Miscellany*, X (Edinburgh, 1965), 145–173.

[92] Mitchell Library Glasgow, George Bogle Letterbook Nrs. 17, 23, 35. George Bogle to William Anderson.

[93] NAS, GD18/2302, David Forbes to John Clerk; NAS, GD18/5197/17, John Clerk to David Forbes.

[94] NAS, GD18/5288/4, James Clerk to his brother. *A Guide for English Travellers through Holland, &c &c* (Rotterdam, T. Johnson, 1731), Preface. For more on Rotterdam's position, see H. Bots, O. S. Lankhorst & C. Zevenbergen (ed.), *Rotterdam Bibliopolis. Een Rondgang langs Boekverkopers uit de Zeventiende en Achttiende Eeuw* (Rotterdam, 1997).

[95] Keblusek, 'Profiling the Early Modern Agent', in: Cools, Keblusek & Noldus, *"Your humble servant"*, 10 and *Idem*, 'Book Agents. Intermediaries in the Early Modern World of Books, in: *Ibid.*, 97–107.

out with sets of textbooks.[96] When George Mackenzie of Delvine met his tutor Alexander Cunningham in 1707, he 'friendly recommended me to Vout as my Professor […], neither did he fail to inform me what books were necessary for me.'[97] In 1730, Thomas Johnson provided Thomas Calderwood of Polton (?1709–1773) with some of the law books he needed for his course at the University of Leiden.[98]

Books were some of the most important purchases Scottish visitors to the United Provinces made. Expensive to buy and to ship back to Scotland, they were among their most valuable possessions. The greatest efforts were made to ensure that their newly-acquired books arrived safely in Scotland. New books were usually sent as loose leafs to avoid the custom duty on bound books.[99] As Henry Fletcher, the brother of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, explained in a letter to his son Andrew, the future Lord Milton: '…I hope you have not sent my brother's books, for bound Books are treated here at our Customhouse as Counterband goods…'[100] Censorship at home was cause for concern, as government regulations in Scotland were far stricter than in the United Provinces.[101] Often books were shipped with other cargo. When the bookseller Thomas Johnson, who was notorious for his illegal reprints of English plays, sent some unspecified English books to Charles Mackie in 1719, he wrote him a letter confirming the sale, commenting that '…the English book are put between the leaves of the latin & french ones in such a way as they'l not be easily seen at ye Custom House…'[102] Most likely for these same reasons, the merchants' inventory lists did not usually specify if and which books they were shipping.

The Staple merchants in Zeeland, the international trader Andrew Russell and the Scottish-Dutch house of Drummond-Van der Heyden all shipped books for their clients. Russell famously bought and shipped books for the likes of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun; Sir James

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[96] EUL, La.II.91/76, Thomas Calderwood to Charles Mackie.
[97] NLS, Mackenzie of Delvine Papers, MS 1118/59.
[98] NLS, Mackie Papers, La.II.91/76.
[99] Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade*, 138.
[100] Murray, 'Letters of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun', 162.
[101] For censorship in Scotland, see: Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade.*, Ch. 6, for censorship in the United Provinces, see: S. Groenveld, 'The Mecca of Authors? States Assemblies and Censorship in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic', in: A. C. Duke & C. A. Tamse, *Too mighty to be Free. Censorship and the Press in Britain and the United Provinces* (Zutphen, 1987), 63–87.
[102] Thomas Johnson to Charles Mackie, EUL La.II.91/26; see also La.II.91/47.

Dalrymple, Viscount Stair, and his sons; John Campbell, the second Duke of Argyll (d.1743); and William Carstares.[103] The Amsterdam merchant John Drummond and his Dutch partner Jasper van der Heyden bought books for a number of Scottish aristocrats, including the Duke of Atholl, the Earl of Mar, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun and several of their relations, plus Charles Mackie and possibly also his former tutee, Alexander Leslie.[104] While individual merchant-to-client relations were the drivers behind the Scottish-Dutch book trade, these were never exclusive. The networks of Russell and Drummond-Van der Heyden, for example, overlapped. Even more important than the general merchants were the specialized booksellers and printers. The Scottish-Dutch book trade was highly reliant on the personal contact between a small number of bookseller-merchants and their friends. Two key figures in particular stand out, namely the famous book collector and tutor to the Scottish aristocracy, Alexander Cunningham of Block, although he was, strictly speaking, neither a bookseller nor a printer, and the *libraire anglois*, Thomas Johnson. Both were exceptional men. Unlike the students, other Scottish book buyers who generally only bought work, were active players in the international world of books and helped shape scholarship. They acted as agents for both authors and buyers, and were clearly learned themselves.

Alexander Cunningham of Block was a Scottish book collector based in The Hague and most famously responsible for the library of his tutee Lord George Douglas, the Duke of Queensberry's youngest son as has been described elsewhere.[105] He arrived in the United Provinces in the middle of the 1680s with his pupil and stayed there for most of the time until his death in 1730. Although he had been appointed Professor of 'Civil Law in this Kingdome' in 1698, he immediately went back to the United Provinces. He never taught and his post was in effect a sinecure to subsidize his editing of the *Digest*,

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[103] NAS, RH15, Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of the Union*, 108. Cf. J. M. Willems (ed.), *Bibliotheca Fletcheriana: or the Extraordinary Library of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun* (Wassenaar, 1999).

[104] NAS, GD24/1/464A, EUL, La.II.91/5.

[105] Kelly, 'Lord George Douglas', *Idem*, *The Library of Lord George Douglas* and see above. For a detailed description of Cunningham's life and activities in the United Provinces, see Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham's Proposed Edition of the Digest'. Cf. *Idem*, 'Alexander Cunningham, Book Dealer' (Unpublished paper presented at *To Collect the Minds of the Law: Rare Law Books, Law Book Collections and Libraries: An International Symposium*, Malmö, Sweden, 2007). With thanks to John Cairns for letting me read this.

which he carried out in The Hague, where he eventually settled permanently.[106] From his Dutch base he made frequent trips abroad, including Scotland, and spent three years in London. Cunningham tutored many Scottish aristocratic students and was familiar with even more. Through his scholarship, his tutoring and his book-buying and collecting activities, he was very much part of the Dutch academic world and the wider European Republic of Letters. He was in touch with all the famous university professors, including Voet, Vitriarius, Noodt, Gronovius, Perizonius, Graevius and Burman, and booksellers in the United Provinces, not to mention his numerous international contacts. His most famous pupils, aside from Lord George Douglas, were John Campbell, Lord Lorne, son of the Earl (later 1st duke) of Argyll (1658–1703); George MacKenzie of Delvine and Andrew Fletcher, the future Lord Milton. He knew Bayle, Locke and Leibniz (1646–1716) among many others and had a famous disagreement with the English classical scholar Richard Bentley (1662–1742).[107] He also cultivated Scottish contacts and knew the Aberdeen regent George Turnbull and the Groningen set of students in the 1730s, as well as Charles Mackie.[108] As a scholar and author, Cunningham spent most of his working life on his new edition of the *Digest*, which he never saw published, as well as on other unpublished critical editions of works by Virgil, Horace and the Greek author Phaedrus.[109] One edition of Horace, although not critical, appeared in 1721 along with an accompanying criticism of an earlier edition of Horace by Bentley, the *Animadversiones*.[110] Both were printed in The Hague by Thomas Johnson. Cunningham also contributed to a Dutch edition of Buchanan by Burman and the Leiden bookseller Johannes Langerak, as well as to the Utrecht law professor Everardus Otto's *Thesaurus Iuris Civilis*, which was published between 1725 and 1729.[111]

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[106] *Ibid.*, Cairns, 'The Origins of the Edinburgh Law School', 314.

[107] Cf. Delvine Papers, NLS, Ms 1118 and Cunningham's letters in the library of the University of Leiden, RUL, BUR Q23, Cunningham to Petrus Burman, and MAR 4, Cunningham to Pierre Bayle.

[108] EUL, La.II.91/74, George Turnbull to Charles Mackie.

[109] EUL, La.II.90/9, 10, 19, John Mitchell to Charles Mackie; La.II.91/33, Thomas Johnson to Charles Mackie.

[110] Quintus Horatius Flaccus, *Poemata*, ed. Alexander Cunningham (Hagae Comitum, apud T. Johnsonium, 1721); *Idem*, *Animadversiones, in Richardi Bentleii Notas et Emendatione* (Hagae Comitum, apud T. Johnsonium, 1721).

[111] EUL, La.II.91/74, George Turnbull to Charles Mackie. E. Otto, *Thesaurus Juris Romani, Continens Rariora Meliorum Interpretum Opuscula, in Quibus Jus Romanum*

Cunningham was a famous book collector, boasting an impressive personal library, as well as acting as agent and adviser for a number of (Scottish) aristocrats such as Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, the Earl of Sunderland and of course his former pupils.[112] He favored the classics and the French and Dutch lawyers, but he also owned books on divinity, philosophy, geography, history ('*veteres ac recentiores*'), chronology, antiquarianism, literature and textual criticism. His library inventory also contained a special index of medical and botanical books, ('*Selectissimorum Rarissimorumque Librorum Botanicorum, medicorum & Miscellaneorum*').[113] His emphasis on continental legal works and the classics was typical of the interests of any polite lawyer and was replicated in Lord George Douglas' library, which has been extensively described by William A. Kelly. His recommendations to George Mackenzie of Delvine and his other contacts and tutees were to buy whatever they could, whenever they could. In 1707 Mackenzie wrote in a letter to his father:

> I have been obliged to buy a considerable parcell of Books which I could not have wanted without a great deal of Inconvenience considering how frequently they are cited, & how general use they are […] most of them I was advised to buy by Mr Cunningham…[114]

When Cunningham died in 1730, his library was auctioned in Leiden over the space of nine days by the Leiden bookseller Johannes van der Linden Jr. The sale catalogue's accompanying inventory referred to him as '*Celeberrimus ac Eruditissimus Vir D. Alexander Cuningamius, Jurisconsultus & Polyhistor eximius*'.[115] Many of his books were bought by his friends and correspondents both in the United Provinces and in Scotland, including Burman. The story of Cunningham is well known,

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Emendatur, Explicatur, Illustratur (Lugduni Batavorum, ap. J. vander Linden jun., 1725–1729).

[112] Willems, *Bibliotheca Fletcheriana*. Willems lists all the books he has identified as having been sent with or by Cunningham. In his letters to Burman, Cunningham referred to both the Earl of Sunderland and Lord Milton, RUL, BUR Q23, Alexander Cunningham to Petrus Burman.

[113] The printed inventory, including marginalia, survives: *Bibliotheca Cuningamia* (Leiden, apud 1730). KB, Mf 202–4. An annotated edition of this and its marginalia still awaits publication.

[114] NLS, Ms.1118/ 63, George Mackenzie to his father.

[115] *Bibliotheca Cuningamia.*

unlike that of the other key figure in the Scottish-Dutch book trade, Thomas Johnson.[116]

If Alexander Cunningham was steeped in the Dutch philological-historical tradition and contributed to its import into Scotland, by contrast his near contemporary and fellow Scot at The Hague, Thomas Johnson (c. 1677–1735), stood for the new French scholarship.[117] Johnson was probably born in 1677 in Edinburgh and he arrived in the United Provinces around 1700. It is not known what motivated him to move and there is no indication that he intended to become a bookseller. He was probably simply attracted by the significant Scottish presence in the United Provinces, their economic successes and the tolerant Dutch climate. Soon after his arrival, he established himself as a bookseller in The Hague after a brief cooperation with the French publisher Jonas l'Honoré. His rise as a bookseller coincided with the Anglo-Scottish parliamentary Union of 1707 and he seems to have benefited greatly from an increase in Scottish and English Grand Tourists and visitors who began to arrive in the United Provinces in the early eighteenth century.[118] In 1731, he even produced a *A Guide for English Travellers through Holland*, which was no doubt aimed at his Scottish as well as his English clients.[119] In the back, Johnson listed the English books and plays available in his shop, placing an 'Advertisement' promoting his export trade to Great Britain and beyond:

> Gentlemen may be furnished by the said Thomas Johnson, with all sorts of French, as well as Latin and Greek Books, whether printed in Holland, or in France or Germany, or any other forrein Country: and likewise with

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[116] For the few publications on him, see H. L. Ford, *Shakespeare 1700–1740* (Oxford, 1935), 46–56; E. F. Kossmann, *De Boekhandel te 's-Gravenhage tot het Einde van de Achttiende Eeuw* (The Hague, 1935–7), 206–210; Otto Lankhorst, 'De Uitgevers van het *Journal Littéraire*', *Documentatieblad Achttiende Eeuw*, XVIII (1986), 143–164; Warren McDougall, 'Gavin Hamilton, John Balfour and Patrick Neill: A study of Publishing in Edinburgh in the 18th Century' (Edinburgh, PhD thesis, 1974); B. J. McMullin, 'T. Johnson, Bookseller in the Hague', in: R. Harvey *et al.* (eds), *An Index of Civilisation. Studies of Printing and Publishing History in Honour of Keith Maslen* (Clayton, Vic., 1993), 99–112.

[117] J. Champion, *Republican Learning: John Toland and the Crisis of Christian Culture, 1696–1722*, (Manchester, 2003), 29, 50, 130, 171–2; Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, 700; Cf. *Idem*, *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man, 1670–1752* (Oxford, 2006), 395.

[118] Lankhorst, 'De Uitgevers van het *Journal Littéraire*', 144–145.

[119] *A Guide for English Travelers through Holland, &c. &c.* (Rotterdam, Printed for T. Johnson, MDCCXXXI).

> many Italian and Spanish Books; all at reasonable rates. And on writing to the said bookseller, or to any Merchant in Rotterdam, they may have Books sent for them to any Sea port of Great Britain or Ireland, or to any of the English Islands or Plantations, or Factories abroad, by the conveniency of Shipping from Rotterdam to those places.

His shop soon became a meeting place for both Scottish and English travelers and students who were an important part of his international clientele and among whom the Scots appear to have taken a special place. Johnson was formally known as a *libraire anglois* and specialized in English publications. He even appears to have acted as printer for the London Company of Booksellers from 1717 to 1730.[120] In 1728, he moved his shop from The Hague to Rotterdam, the 'bibliopolis' of the Dutch Republic, where he stayed until his death in 1735.[121] He was succeeded by his Scottish widow, Jane Wemyss, and their son, Alexander, until 1745. Eventually, his remaining stock was bought by a Dutch bookseller, Hendrik Scheurleer.

Despite his background, Johnson began his career as a publisher-printer of French works. His first publications in 1705, in cooperation with l'Honoré, and from 1706 onwards by himself, were all in French, and included a number of translations of English texts by contemporary authors such as John Toland (1670–1722) and Sir Paul Rycaut (1629–1700) and political pamphlets. From 1710 onwards—the year the Copyright Act was passed in England—he began to specialize in English texts. Pope (1688–1744), Dryden (1631–1700), Addison (1672–1719), Shaftesbury (1671–1713), Burnet (1643–1715) and, most famously, Shakespeare (b. 1564–1616), were reprinted illegally 'Neatly & correctly printed, in small Volumes fit for the pocket'.[122] Aside from these reprints, Johnson had an interest in radical authors and dabbled in Spinozist clandestina. In 1706, he had published Johannes Colerus' *La Vie de Spinosa*, one of the first biographies of the great Dutch philosopher. Nine years later, he cooperated with The Hague publisher Charles Levier on his edition of one of the most notorious clandestine philosophical texts of the early Enlightenment, *La Vie et l'Esprit de Mr. Benoît de Spinosa* or *Traité des Trois Imposteurs*,

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[120] McMullin, 'T. Johnson, Bookseller in the Hague', 100.
[121] Bots, Lankhorst & Zevenbergen (eds), *Rotterdam Bibliopolis*. EUL, La.II.91/62.
[122] McMullin, 'T. Johnson, Bookseller in the Hague', 100.

which was based in part on Colerus.[123] He upheld a close working relationship with many Huguenot journalists throughout his publishing of the *Journal Littéraire*, in particular with Pierre Des Maizeaux (1666–1745), who was the journal's English correspondent. Johnson is also known to have cooperated with the Rotterdam Quaker Benjamin Furly (1636–1714) and the philosophers John Toland and Anthony Collins (1676–1729), as well as numerous other deists and freethinkers. He apparently sent copies of the *Journal Littéraire* to Isaac Newton directly.[124] His subversive publishing activities may have come to a halt by the early 1720s but he must have known other Spinozists, such as Nicolas Lenglet Dufresnoy (1674–1755), intimately and kept a hand in the world of clandestina throughout his career. His complete list of publications has been estimated at around two hundred.[125] Aside from books and pamphlets, Johnson also published three French journals: the political *Le Mercure Galant*, the spectatorial *Le Misantrope* and the learned journal *Le Journal Littéraire*, which he published from 1713 until 1728.

Johnson exported frequently to Scotland. His English piracies were much cheaper than the London versions and very attractive. He also printed Latin texts—Cunningham's *Horace* and the accompanying *Animadversiones* among others—which he also shipped to Scotland and, while it has been suggested that Johnson left behind his French and Latin works when he moved to Rotterdam in 1728, his correspondence shows that he continued his Scottish business in both.[126] Indeed, he exported numerous radical and enlightened texts to Scotland and seems to have been genuinely concerned with introducing this material into his home country. He had several outlets in Scotland: the booksellers in Edinburgh John Mackie, Charles'cousin, and Gavin Hamilton; George Stewart, the printer of the University of Edinburgh; and David Randie, who was both a bookseller and postmaster. Johnson also sold

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[123] Johnson's *Journal Littéraire* also had a radical slant. See McMullin, 'T. Johnson, Bookseller in the Hague', 99; Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, 700; *Idem, Enlightenment Contested*, 395.

[124] Lankhorst, 'De Uitgevers van het *Journal Litéraire*', 144–150.

[125] *Ibid*., 145.

[126] Note the dates of the following letters: La.II.91c/9, Johnson to Mackie, Rotterdam 19 June 1731; /31, Johnson to Mackie, Rotterdam, 12 August 1732; /39, Johnson to Mackie, Rotterdam, 2 July 1733; /45, Johnson to Mackie, Rotterdam, 22 December 1735.

his own publications by subscription.[127] He also sent books directly to the Edinburgh lawyers and to Scottish university professors, such as, for instance, William Anderson, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at the University of Glasgow and Charles Mackie at Edinburgh.[128] Johnson's substantial Scottish network was, to a large extent, based on his role as agent for Scottish students and visitors and, in particular, on his personal friendship with Mackie who cooperated with Johnson on several occasions.

There were many other booksellers from whom Scots in the United Provinces bought their books and learned journals. The university printer Willem van de Water (1686–1728), for instance, is also often mentioned in student correspondence. Van de Water acted as the University of Utrecht's official printer from 1699 until his death in 1728 and had a shop in town in *'t Oude Kerkhof*.[129] He specialized in theses, disputations and works by the Utrecht professors. His archive no longer exists, but his book sale catalogues, mainly of auctions of professorial and private libraries, do survive; so too do fragments of his own correspondence.[130] Unfortunately, neither say much about Van de Water himself or the kind of books he sold in his shop, but it is clear that he was very well known to Scots in the United Provinces and Scotland alike. He was also familiar with the Amsterdam merchants Drummond and Van der Heyden and their circle of Scottish aristocrats, and shipped his material via them.[131] Robert Wodrow bought books from him for the Glasgow library on theology, physics and law, as did James Erskine, the Earl of Mar's brother.[132] He clearly knew the

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[127] EUL, La.II.91/26, 33, 34 and La.II.91c/39, Thomas Johnson to Charles Mackie. Cf McDougall, 'Gavin Hamilton, John Balfour and Patrick Neill', 32–47. La.II.91/34, Thomas Johnson to Charles Mackie.

[128] EUL, La.II.91.34, 62, Thomas Johnson to Charles Mackie. Andrew Fletcher and his nephew, Lord Milton, also bought books from him. Murray, 'Letters of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun', 164.

[129] In March 1716 Willem Van de Water Sr. handed over his business to his son, Willem Jr. Willem Sr returned after his son's death in November 1717. To confuse matters more, there was another bookseller, Johannes Van de Water, in Utrecht, who was active between 1681 and 1700. Whether he was related to the university printers is unknown, although they are known to have collaborated at times. See also: *Short-Title Catalogue, United Provinces* (*STCN*), http://picarta.pica.nl/LNG=NE/DB=3.11/.

[130] J. A. Gruys and W. W. de Kooker, *Book Sale Catalogues of the Dutch Republic, 1599–1800. On Microfiche* (Leiden, n.d.). This is an on-going project.

[131] NAS, GD124/1/464, Trade Papers.

[132] NLS, Wodrow Qu. Lett. I, Sharp, *Early Letters of Robert Wodrow*, 140–141.

latter quite well as he added a rather informal postscript, in Dutch, to one of his letters.[133] He would also have known Alexander Cunningham and his pupils and most of the other Scottish tutors and their (aristocratic) students. In 1725 and again in 1726 John Mitchell wrote from Utrecht to Charles Mackie in Edinburgh reporting the closing of Van de Water's business in two separate letters.[134] The booksellers' books were apparently auctioned off in June 1726, two years before his death, which was a great loss to Utrecht according to Mitchell.[135] In the first of his two letters he remarked with regret: 'I am utterly almost a stranger to all that is doing in the Learned World; for Van de Water is giving over his business […] and there is no other Bookseller of note here. Besides the same spirit of novelty and curiosity that is at Leyden does not reign here…'[136] Mitchell was probably correct in this observation because by then Utrecht's position had been taken over by Groningen. Van de Water's death in 1728 was reported by Hans Hamilton in a letter to John Drummond in Amsterdam.[137]

Other booksellers with substantial numbers of Scottish clients were the Leiden university printers Elsevier and their successor in 1715, Pieter Van der Aa (1659–1733); the English (Puritan) booksellers in Amsterdam Swart and Bruyningh; the Leiden bookseller who printed the *Bibliotheca Cuningamia*, Johannes Van der Linden Jr. (1708–1731); and Johannes Langerak, who corresponded with Charles Mackie and cooperated with Alexander Cunningham on an edition of George Buchanan's *Opera Omnia*.[138] The famous Rotterdam bookseller Reinier Leers (1692–1709) also had Scottish contacts, and probably the Huguenot seller Prosper Marchand (1678–1756) as well.

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[133] 'I have even given your regards to Miss Elisabeth and she has bid me to pay her service to you'. ('Ik heb selfs de groeteniss aan Jufr Elisabeth gedaan en sij heeft mij gebeden U Ed. van haar dienst te presenteren'.) NAS, GD124/15/222/3, Willem van de Water to James Erskine. Van de Water sent him a copy of François Hotman, *Antitribonian*, an *Oration* by Petrus Burman—most likely his *Oratio Funebris in Obitum Viri Clarissimi Joannis Georgii Graevii,… habita XI. Kal. Martias MDCCIII* (Utrecht, apud Van de Water, 1703), which Van de Water had just printed—and an unidentified edition of Horace.

[134] EUL, La. II.90/18, 19, John Mitchell to Charles Mackie.

[135] NAS, GD24/1/464A/162, Hans Hamilton to John Drummond.

[136] EUL, La. II.90/18, John Mitchell to Charles Mackie.

[137] NAS, GD 24/1/464A/162.

[138] The Elseviers have been the subject of extensive research, see David W. Davies, *The World of the Elseviers 1580–1712* (The Hague, 1954). For Van der Aa, see P. G. Hoftijzer, *Pieter Van der Aa (1659–1733). Leids Drukker en Boekverkoper* (Hilversum, 1999). For Bruyningh and Swart see Hoftijzer, *Engelse Boekverkopers bij de Beurs*.

Leers specialized in French books and was part of the circle around Jean Leclerc.[139] David Gregory bought books from him for himself and Andrew Fletcher during his visit to the United Provinces in the summer of 1693; Robert Wodrow ordered 'catologues, priced or not price[d]', suggesting he ordered substantial numbers of books for Glasgow's university library.[140] Leers also published in cooperation with the Edinburgh bookseller and official printer to the Church of Scotland, George Mosmann, and even appears to have printed under the fictitious imprint of 'Edinburgh, J Calderwood'.[141]

Scottish book-buying in the United Provinces reflected changing interests and expectations. As the exile connection came to an end and the number of polite students and grand tourists rose, the book trade slowly shifted away from theological and devotional works towards an increasing demand in secular titles, compendia, reference works and other academic and scholarly publications. After 1700, French scholarship also began to make an appearance among the imported books. When considering three generations of students—the mid-seventeenth century divinity student Carstares, the polite gentlemen-lawyers Lord George Douglas and George Mackenzie, and the medical student William Mure—this development, from devout theology to polite humanism to French learning, clearly shows. There was also a clear link between the Scottish-Dutch book trade and the academic and intellectual developments at the Dutch universities.[142] The shift from the theological and devotional texts of the middle of the seventeenth century to the classics, history and legal and medical textbooks, and on to French learned journals and English reprints by the late 1720s, paralleled the geographical shift from Utrecht to Groningen as the (second) university for Scottish students seeking politeness and a

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[139] See also: O. S. Lankhorst, *Reinier Leers (1654–1714) Uitgever & Boekverkoper te Rotterdam* (Amsterdam & Maarssen, 1983).

[140] In an apparent note to himself, Gregory wrote: 'A new french translation of the Olynthian Orations of Demosthenes for Salton se trouve chez Leers à Rott.' Dk1.2.A/31. The library of Andrew Fletcher shows three copies of this work. Demosthenes, *Orationes Olynthiacae* III (Strasburg, 1570), *Idem*, *Olynthiacae Orationes* III (London, 1571), *Idem*, *Olynthiacae Orationes* (Frankfurt, 1604). Willems, *Bibliotheca Fletcheriana*, 71. Sharp, *Early Letters of Robert Wodrow*, 52.

[141] I owe this reference to Dr Marja Smolenaars. See also: Lankhorst, *Reinier Leers*, 37, 80.

[142] Cf. Christine Shepherd, 'The Inter-relationship between the Library and Teaching in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in: Jean R. Guild & Alexander Law (eds), *Edinburgh University Library 1580–1980. A Collection of Essays* (Edinburgh 1982), 67–86.

broad education, rather than a degree. By the first quarter of the eighteenth century, Dutch authors were still appreciated, but they now also had to compete with what French and other continental and English writers, such as Thomas Johnson, published.[143] Dutch editions of the classics continued to be considered the best, especially those printed by the Leiden printing houses of Elsevier and Van der Aa. Legal and medical compendia by Dutch academics also continued to be appreciated well into the eighteenth century. In this respect, the Scottish book trade differed from the English book trade. As the seventeenth century came to an end, the latter increasingly concentrated on works written in the English language and published at home. By contrast, the so-called 'Latin trade' in academic material between the United Provinces and Scotland continued to flourish well into the eighteenth century, even if its emphasis shifted over time from religious to secular and its language changed from Latin to French.[144] Inventories of Dutch printers and booksellers with Scottish contacts show an emphasis on Latin and, increasingly, French books.[145] Thomas Johnson appears to have been a notable exception. It would not be long, however, before things would begin to change. The Dutch economic domination of the Latin trade cost the country its intellectual primacy, as Scottish book buyers noticed. In 1715, James Clerk wrote to his brother about the books he was sending them: 'French the Best Authors as Moliere, Boileau, Corneille and the Classick Authors of the finest character being those of Elzevier which cost very dear though I am persuaded you not think them unworthy the money…'[146] Unfortunately, James' brother was 'very unhappy with the Classick's.'[147] The verdict of Thomas Calderwood, writing from Leiden in 1731, was even more crushing:

> This dull town [Leiden] offers no news of gayety or diversion in return to your's as for our learned news here, there are none remarkable, there are alway some busy here in publishing books stuffed with other peoples notes & some new emendations as they call them to encrease the

[143] Cf. Emerson, 'What did Eighteenth-Century Scottish Students Read?', 63.
[144] Hoftijzer, 'Het Nederlandse Boekenbedrijf, 59–71.
[145] The main source for these inventories is the *Book Sales Catalogues of the Dutch Republic, 1599–1800*. Cf. The publications of the, now defunct, Studies Instituut Intellectiuele Betrekkingen in Europa in de 17e Eeuw, Nijmegen (SIB-series), edited by Hans Bots.
[146] NAS, GD18/5288/4, James Clerk to his brother.
[147] NAS, GD18/5288/6, *Idem*.

> Booksellers profit they are hardly worth the writing to you & there are so many now that I have indeed forgot them.[148]

The Dutch universities and the book trade operated in tandem throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. For the Scottish students, a Dutch education was complemented by the acquisition of books. After the Williamite Revolution, this began to confirm their status as learned gentlemen and gave them a stake in the international world of learning. For many, this was the extent of their engagement with the Republic of Letters. Others went beyond being mere consumers and actively participated in the learned discussions of new ideas. One such Scot was Charles Mackie.

[148] NLS, La.II.91c/9, Thomas Calderwood to Charles Mackie.

CHAPTER FOUR

CHARLES MACKIE AND THE LIMITS OF DUTCH LEARNING

Mackie As Agent in the Republic of Letters

Born in the revolutionary year 1688, Charles Mackie was a representative of the post-Revolution students and their educational concerns. Educated in Groningen and Leiden, he brought to Scotland the broad humanist and polite education that he had encountered himself. In Groningen he had also been introduced to the French language and in Leiden he had experienced first-hand the Dutch Elegant School in practice. His studies at Leiden had also allowed him to take colleges on ancient history, a life-long interest that might have begun in Groningen. It may have been his uncle Carstares' influence that had originally led Mackie to the United Provinces, but he had ambitions of his own. Being a tutor would have suited him well. While well-connected in Edinburgh's academic circles, he lacked the means to become a gentleman-scholar or to travel widely. His employment with the Leslies gave him both the opportunity to further his studies and to acquire the patronage he needed to obtain future employment. He had been seeking a Scottish professorship since at least 1716, when Colin Drummond, the Edinburgh Professor of Logic, wrote to him telling him that the purges, which had followed the 1715 Jacobite rebellion, had left open a number of jobs.[1] Mackie turned down the possibility of a teaching post at Aberdeen, possibly because he knew he could acquire a better one with Leslie's patronage. In 1719, Mackie and Leslie returned to Scotland, where Mackie was nominated Professor of Universal History at the University of Edinburgh and Leslie entered the Faculty of Advocates.[2] Mackie seems to have returned to Leiden only once in 1720, shortly after his appointment.[3]

The post at Edinburgh was modeled essentially on Dutch chairs and was subsidized by the town council. While it was an arts chair,

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[1] Emerson, *Academic Patronage in the Scottish Enlightenment*, 256–7.
[2] Grant, *The Faculty of Advocates*.
[3] EUL, La.II.95/7, 8, John Mitchell to Charles Mackie.

he mainly taught future lawyers and some ministers. This reflected Carstares' vision, which had been focused on history and had made his brother-in-law, William Dunlop, Historiographer Royal in 1693.[4] It also shows the Edinburgh town councils' ambitions for a civic university. In 1722, Mackie was given a new commission as 'professor of Universall History and the History of Scotland in particular and of Greek [,] Roman and British Antiquities'. This resembled the Dutch chair as held by Perizonius and Burman at Leiden, which also very much served the lawyers and the Faculty of Advocates and town council who were the legal patrons to the chair. Mackie would teach until 1753, when, because of poor health, he requested that the town council appoint John Gordon as a conjoint professor, reserving for himself all or most of the salary whilst his colleague taught for fees. This arrangement allowed Mackie to retire from teaching. When Gordon resigned, he was replaced by William Wallace within a year. In 1765, Wallace became Professor of Scottish Law and Mackie retired completely, leaving sole possession of the chair to his friend John Pringle, but he continued to be paid something until 1767.[5] By the 1750s, Mackie reckoned to have taught 448 students for one or more years. They were sons of peers, baronets and landed gentlemen as well as a handful of lawyers, doctors and academics. Among his most famous students were the historian William Robertson and the economist Sir James Steuart (1713–1780). He died in Edinburgh on September 11, 1770, following his wife Anne Hamilton, whom he had married in 1726 and who had died on the first of January that same year.

Mackie's time in the United Provinces had a formative effect on his scholarship. His teaching and his research projects show a clear Dutch influence. Moreover, it had introduced him to the wider European scholarly community that was the Republic of Letters, and for a long time he worked hard at remaining part of it and kept up-to-date with

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[4] He may also have had a hand in securing the ecclesiastical chair for Glasgow. *Ibid.*, 257. GUL, Ms Gen 204/130, 132, William Carstares to John Stirling. Cf. Robert Wodrow, *Analecta, or Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences Mostly Relating to Scotch Ministers and Christians* (4 vols, Edinburgh, 1842–3), 370–1.

[5] Jeffrey R. Smitten, 'Mackie, Charles (1688–1770)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/63630, accessed 15 June 2010]. This was a normal retirement arrangement in which the professor was allowed to select a successor with the permission of the Faculty of Advocates and town council.

the latest publications and debates. Correspondence and learned journals were more important to this end than the Edinburgh club life which would characterize the Scottish Enlightenment but which was limited until the 1750s. Until the early 1740s, Mackie remained in direct contact with Scottish students in the United Provinces and developed new contacts along the way. Some of those he may have owed to Alexander Leslie, with whom he remained close until the latter's death in 1754. Mackie's network was extensive and in the 1720s and 30s he received monthly or even weekly letters and updates about the learned world. He corresponded with his old professor Pieter Burman and remained friendly with others, including his old teacher Michael Rossal, the law professors Pierre de Toullieu, Arnoldus Rotgers and perhaps Jean Barbeyrac, and the famous medical professor Herman Boerhaave. Among the Scots he wrote to were George Turnbull and Colin MacLaurin (1698–1746), both traveling tutors and professors at Marischal College, Aberdeen in the 1720s and, in Maclaurin's case, at Edinburgh after 1725. Others who got his letters included the Scottish book collector in The Hague, Alexander Cunningham of Block, his uncle-by-second-marriage's brother, Alexander Carstares in Rotterdam and, most importantly, the bookseller Thomas Johnson. He was also familiar with most of the other booksellers at Leiden and Utrecht, including Johannes Langerak and Willem van de Water. He was kept informed by the Scottish student networks in the United provinces—his main correspondents here were James Hamilton, possibly related to his wife; Alexander Boswell, Sir Andrew Mitchell (1708–1771) and Sir Hugh Dalrymple (1712–1790) and their tutors, and especially John Mitchell about whom virtually nothing is known but who wrote to Mackie more frequently than any of the others.[6] He even kept up with his former landlord Hendrik Ulhoorn and two of his daughters, Antonia and Alida, who occasionally sent him news.[7]

The University of Groningen was of particular significance in the early stages of Mackie's career. He encouraged many Scottish and English

[6] NAS, GD26/13/597, Hendrik Ulhoorn to Charles Mackie; EUL, La.II.90, 91. John Mitchell (1711–1768) cannot have been the botanist and cartographer by the same name as he was born in 1711, only 12–14 years before Mitchell was writing to Mackie. Besides, he is known to have been on the continent in 1731. Elizabeth Baigent, 'Mitchell, John (1711–1768)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18842, accessed 23 Sept. 2010].

[7] NAS, GD26/13/597, *Idem*, GD26/13/611/1, Alida Ulhoorn to Charles Mackie.

students to go there and was in part responsible for the increased popularity of his *alma mater*. By the time of his own appointment, Groningen was appointing a number of French professors alongside Rossal, namely the anti-Pyrrhonist philosopher Jean Pierre de Crousaz and the law professors Pierre de Toullieu and Jean Barbeyrac.[8] Those important additions did not go unnoticed. The students Thomas Dundas; James Leslie, (possibly a relative of Alexander Leslie) and his tutor Robert Duncan; Lord Balgonie's son David; Mackie's colleagues Colin MacLaurin and George Turnbull and the latter's tutees Andrew Wauchope of Niddrie; William Henry Kerr, Lord Jerviswood (*c.*1712–1775) and Lord George Hay, the Marques of Tweedale, all went to Groningen.[9] The French presence at the University and in the city lent it an air of politeness, which gave it an advantage over the University of Leiden, even if some of the French professors did not live up to the students' expectations. Lord Balgonie complained about Barbeyrac's 'bad delivery and indistinct pronunciation through grimace and loss of teeth'.[10] Generally, however, it was a popular choice. In 1723, Robert Duncan, James Leslie's tutor, approvingly wrote: 'As for the rest of your Collegues what I have studied under you may assure them that the Conversation I have had with the Dutch professors [at Groningen] has hightened my Opinion of them.'[11] A year later he wrote: 'You see Groningen is in a fair way to be a flourishing Academy […] which tho not so agreeable as Leyden for company I believe is better for studying.'[12] Meanwhile, it looked like Leiden was becoming deserted. Alexander Boswell commented in 1728: 'We have here no great choice of company. There is few British in this place, not above thirty or five & thirty.'[13] In reality, there was a close exchange between the aristocratic circles at Leiden and Groningen and many of the students moved attended both universities before going onto their Grand Tour.[14]

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[8] For Crousaz (and Barbeyrac) see Moore, 'Natural Law and the Pyrrhonian Controversy', 20–38. Crousaz cooperated with Jean Leclerc on the *Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique*.

[9] EUL, La.II.91/36, Robert Duncan to Charles Mackie, NAS, GD26/613, David, Lord Balgonie to Charles Mackie.

[10] NAS, GD26/13/613/2, David, Lord Balgonie to Charles Mackie.

[11] EUL, La.II.91/36, Robert Duncan to Charles Mackie.

[12] EUL, La.II.91c/43, Robert Duncan to Charles Mackie.

[13] EUL, La.II91/60, Alexander Boswell to Charles Mackie.

[14] EUL, La.II.90/91.

Mackie's correspondence gives a detailed insight into the part he played in the Republic of Letters. Most of the surviving letters deal with books and learned journals that had recently appeared or were in press and with those who had read or wanted them. Mackie and his correspondents followed the usual conventions of address and formulas of friendship, mutual obligation and respect. If we follow Goldgar's and Stegeman's approach, he was at the center of a circle of Scots but at the same time he was clearly dependent on his correspondents and especially on Thomas Johnson and, to an extent, Burman, who had far more direct access to the learned world than Mackie.[15] While he was able to provide guidance and even patronage at home, his own influence stretched only so far.[16] It is indicative that his active engagement with the Dutch booksellers came to an end when Thomas Johnson died in 1735.

We get a sense of hierarchy in Mackie's circle when we compare his different correspondents. Some of Mackie's most formal letters were exchanged with his former professor Burman. He was a great influence on Mackie's teaching, and even though the former student had moved in a different scholarly direction from his teacher, in their correspondence Mackie showed the respect due to the older and more famous man.[17] Theirs was a friendship based on mutual interests in the classics. Their correspondence was written strictly in Latin. Addressing each other formally as *Vir Celeberrimus*, they discussed students, university affairs and matters of scholarly concern. While Mackie had at least some Dutch, writing to Burman in that language was never an option. At the other end of the spectrum of formality was his correspondence with his former landlord, Hendrik Ulhoorn, and his daughters, who wrote to him in Dutch.[18] The overwhelming majority of Mackie's correspondence was in English, both with his student network and with Thomas Johnson. It dealt with books and the state of affairs in the learned world. When analyzing Mackie's correspondence, we must wholly rely on letters sent to him; virtually none of the ones he sent

[15] Goldgar, *Impolite Learning* and Stegeman, *Patronage and Service in the Republic of Letters*.

[16] For instance EUL, La.II91/56, George Drummond to Charles Mackie.

[17] Sharp, 'Charles Mackie the First Professor of History', Cairns, 'Importing our Lawyers from Holland', 150; *Idem*, 'Three Unnoticed Scottish Editions of Pieter Burman's *Antiquitatum Romanarum brevis descriptio*', *The Bibliotheck* 22 (1997), 20–33.

[18] NAS, GD26/13/611/1, Alida Ulhoorn to Charles Mackie.

have survived. Nevertheless, it is clear that he was in the first place a consumer of news. His letters give no evidence of his ethical or other values or concerns and tell little of his conceptions of any purpose or higher aims in the Republic of Letters. There are only a handful of minor hints at his religious beliefs, and references to political issues tend to be dismissive. Comments such as Boswell's that 'the Cocceians att the head of whom is your ffreind Burmann & who are the most numerous in this university' were rare.[19] There are tantalizing snippets that hint at a radical bent, in Jonathan Israel's interpretation of the term, but these are not enough to draw any conclusions. Mackie seems to have been appropriately moderate in his Presbyterianism and a bit of a chamber Whig, in spite of his involvement, early in his career, with a defence of the legacy of George Buchanan and the Scottish Reformation and his membership of the Revolution Club.[20] But he had little interest in divinity and the potential theological implications of historical research. His main interest was to quench his ferocious appetite for keeping up with the latest publications and developments in the United Provinces and across the continent to which his personal papers bear testimony.

Mackie was a keen collector of books and learned journals. While he was no Alexander Cunningham, his activities and networks were substantial. He kept up with the auctions of the libraries of such famous men as Graevius, Gronovius and Perizonius.[21] Andrew Mitchell sent him the inventory of the *Bibliotheca Uilenbroukiana* 'marked with their prices'.[22] This was the library of the Amsterdam book collector Goswin Uilenbroek (1658–1740) and was one of the most spectacular of its time, numbering some five thousand volumes. It went on sale in 1741 but it is not clear whether Mackie bought any of the books. His library certainly contained other works from some of the most famous libraries in the United Provinces including those of Cunningham, Graevius,

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[19] EUL La.II.91/61, Alexander Boswell to Charles Mackie.

[20] E. Mijers, 'Scotland's Fabulous Past: Charles Mackie and George Buchanan', in: C. Erskine & R. A. Mason (eds), *George Buchanan: Political Thought in Early Modern Britain and Europe* (Farnham & Burlington, 2012).

[21] EUL, La.II.91/41, Petrus Burman to Charles Mackie.

[22] *Altera Bibliotheca Uilenbrouckiana, Sive Catalogus Librorum* (Amsteladami, ap. S. Schouten Ubi Catalogi Distribuntur, 1741) 8°. EUL, La.II.91/69, John Mitchell to Charles Mackie. J. Storm van Leeuwen, 'A Passionate Collector: The Amsterdam Bibliophile Goswin Uilenbroek, his Collections and his Bindings', in: *Bibliophiles et Reliures: Mélanges Offerts à Michel Wittock*, ed. A. de Coster *et al.* (Brussels, 2006).

and Burman.[23] He also bought many other books and learned journals, old and new, from his correspondents in the Netherlands.[24] Throughout his life he kept inventories of his own library, of newly published books and journals, and, it seems, even wish lists.[25] He also bought for others, again importing mostly from the United Provinces with the help of his large circle of correspondents. He was responsible for building up Alexander Leslie's library.[26] While they were in the United Provinces, Leslie acquired 'above 600 Gilders worth of very good books' and Mackie continued to advise him and others long after they had ceased to be his pupils.[27] He also bought books for Leslie's son, Lord Balgonie, for his own 'cousin' Alexander Dunlop, Professor of Greek at Glasgow, and most likely for many others as well. In the spring of 1720, when he returned to the United Provinces for a brief visit shortly after his university appointment, John Mitchell asked Mackie for a number of books from the United Provinces. He also bought books in Edinburgh. In 1734, Alexander Dunlop asked him to buy books at David Freebairns' auction house. Not long after, Mackie sent Dunlop the titles.[28]

Mackie's role in the Republic of Letters becomes more interesting and more important when he is considered as an intermediary for his correspondents on both sides of the North Sea. Along with books, he inherited his uncle John Mackie's contacts. On the Carstares' side there were William's appointees in Edinburgh and his brother Alexander Carstares' commercial network in Rotterdam. Mackie was well-connected for his role as an agent in the Scottish-Dutch book trade. He appears to have begun this function in earnest after his professorial appointment in 1719. Mackie returned to the United Provinces in April 1720, intent on buying books. He left Thomas Johnson in charge of sending those back to Scotland, who wrote to him in January the following year: 'You'll find all the books […] you left here

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[23] EUL, Dc.8.51, Library Catalogue Charles Mackie.

[24] EUL, La.II.91/40, Duncan to Mackie; La.II.91/61, Boswell to Mackie; La.II.91c/10, Thomas Calderwood to Charles Mackie.

[25] EUL, Dc.5.24[1,2], Commonplace Book Charles Mackie; Dc.8.51, Library Catalogue Charles Mackie.

[26] NAS, GD26/13/529, Charles Mackie to the Earl of Leven.

[27] NAS, GD26/13/529, Charles Mackie to John Russel; EUL, La.II.91/58, Alexander Boswell to Mackie.

[28] EUL, La.II.91c/47, Alexander Dunlop to Charles Mackie; EUL La.II.581/4, Alexander Dunlop to Charles Mackie; EUL, La.II.95/7, 8, John Mitchell to Charles Mackie; EUL. La.II.91/33, Thomas Johnson to Charles Mackie.

[…] I hope you'l receive all safe & to your contentment.'[29] At the same time, Mackie brought out a Scottish edition of Burman's textbook for law students, the *Antiquitatum Romanarum Brevis Descriptio*, which had originally appeared in 1702 in Utrecht. Whether he obtained permission from Burman is not clear. The first Scottish edition of the *Antiquitatum Romanarum* was printed anonymously in 1721, as had been the case with the Dutch editions. That was the same year Mackie began teaching his course on Roman antiquities. He had a monopoly on this text. As John Cairns has described, over the years 1744–1747, Mackie's account with the Edinburgh bookseller John Paton was credited for the sale of sixty copies of a book entitled *Antiquitatum Descriptio*, which must have been Burman's text.[30] And, as late as 1757, when he had almost completely retired, his colleague and successor William Wallace wrote to him:

> The young Gentlemen who have entered to the College of Antiquities this Season upon applying to the Booksellers for the Text having been informed by them, particularly by Mr Paton that the only remaining Copys are in your possession. I have therefore given you the trouble of this to acquaint you of it, and to beg you would [send] those Copies to your Booksellers, [that] the Gentlemen may be provided.[31]

Soon after the appearance of the Scottish edition of the *Antiquitatum Romanarum*, Burman and Mackie discussed the possibility of another joint venture, the publication of a new, 'Dutch' edition of George Buchanan's *Opera Omnia*. In 1723, Burman wrote to Mackie to inform him of the plans of the Leiden bookseller, Johannes Langerak, to reprint an edition of George Buchanan's *Opera Omnia* with a new preface, notes and life of Buchanan and to ask Mackie for advice.[32] The edition Langerak had in mind was the one that had appeared in 1714 from the presses of the Jacobite and Episcopalian Thomas Ruddiman (1674–1757). It was a particularly critical edition and before long a

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[29] EUL, La.91/32, Thomas Johnson to Charles Mackie.

[30] Two editions followed, in 1733, by Thomas Ruddiman, who also printed the 1721 edition, and in 1759 by Hamilton, Balfour and Neill. The latter was possibly a reprint of the second Dutch edition printed in Leiden that same year. Cf. Cairns, 'Three Unnoticed Scottish Editions', Haitsma-Mulier & Van der Lem, *Repertorium van Geschiedschrijvers in Nederland*, 81. EUL, Mackie Papers, La.II.90/6/1.

[31] EUL, La.II.91c/52, William Wallace to Charles Mackie.

[32] EUL, Mackie Papers, La.II.91/39, 41, Petrus Burman to Charles Mackie.

group of Whig literati had come to Buchanan's rescue.[33] They were officially called the 'Society of the Scholars of Edinburgh, to vindicate that incomparably learned and pious author [Buchanan] from the calumy of Mr Thomas Ruddiman', but more often known as the Associated Critics. Fearing that the entire Reformation was being attacked by 'Popish and pretended Protestant writers', the Associated Critics aimed to vindicate Buchanan's character and veracity and thus his authority as a historian.[34] They promised to produce an entirely new edition of Buchanan's works, but the project died a premature death and their vindication of Buchanan and the Reformation came to nothing. Langerak's plans, however, re-opened the case. The Associated Critics regrouped, and with renewed zeal tried to prevent the new Dutch edition. Mackie was their spokesman and was asked to contact Burman about the possibility of publishing their edition instead.[35] He wrote to Burman in 1724, explaining the mistakes in the Ruddiman edition. Earlier that same year, Langerak had written to Mackie about his correspondence with Burman concerning the Dutch edition:

> Je prens la liberté de vous prier par celle ci Monsieur, de vouloir convénir par un Contrac avec moy, pour envoyer a Mr le Proffr Burman oú a Mr Conningham Mackenzie oú a moi oú a quelque autre de vos amis, toute les annotat, Refutation, Correction et autres piece faîtes ou composeés par vous même oú par quelque autre savant, par les ajouter dans nostre Edition…[36]

Langerak promised to include the names of any contributors alongside Burman's. In return, Mackie would receive as many copies of the new Buchanan as he wanted. Moreover, Langerak expressed the view that it would be better to have one complete edition to avoid the need for a new Scottish one. Mackie apparently made his own revisions, which he sent to Langerak directly. The matter was discussed in Scottish learned

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[33] George Buchanan, *Georgii Buchanani Scoti, Poetarum Facile Principis, Opera Omnia,… Curante Thomas Ruddimanno, A.M.* (Edinburgi, apud Robertum Freebairn, 1715).

[34] Robert Wodrow, *Analecta*, III (Edinburgh, 1843), 142. Cf. Cairns, 'Three Unnoticed Scottish Editions', 24–25.

[35] Wodrow, *Analecta*, 142.

[36] 'I take the liberty to appeal to you Sir, to enter into a contract with me, to send to Professor Burman, or to Mr Cunningham Mackenzie or to me or to one of your other friends, all annotations, refutations, corrections and other pieces written by yourself or any other scholar, to add to our Edition'. EUL, Mackie Papers, La.91/42, Johannes Langerak to Mackie.

circles in the United Provinces. Mackie's friend at Groningen, Robert Duncan, although concerned that 'people are afraid here that it will run into a party business', discussed the Scottish-Dutch plans with his Huguenot professors, Jean Barbeyrac and Michael Rossal, who both expressed their approval.[37] Despite Mackie's efforts, the 'proposals from Holland for reprinting of Buchanan's work in 2 quartos, with a preface by Burman, at Leyden' came to nothing.[38] The Associated Critics failed to deliver and Langerak went ahead with reprinting Ruddiman's edition with an introduction by Burman. They tried to prevent this publication and Mackie wrote to Burman but to no avail.[39] In 1725, the Burman-Langerak edition appeared with a list of international subscribers that included some Scots but none of the Associated Critics.[40] Unsurprisingly, the affair put a strain on Mackie's friendship with Burman and no further attempts at cooperation were undertaken.

Mackie had a happier and much more fruitful working relationship with the *libraire Anglois* Thomas Johnson. They must have met when Mackie was in Leiden with Alexander Leslie. Mackie's pupil was related to Johnson's wife and was godfather to their son Alexander.[41] With the Leslie's patronage and his own connections with the Edinburgh world of books, Mackie was well placed to help Johnson break into the Scottish market. He became Johnson's agent and their collaboration lasted from Mackie's appointment in 1719 until the bookseller's death in 1735. Their letters show a personal affection with Johnson enquiring after Mackie's upcoming marriage and providing details on his own family life. Alexander Leslie and numerous other friends were usually also mentioned. While their correspondence shows all the hallmarks of a Republic of Letters exchange, theirs was a friendship that went beyond scholarly, social or commercial interests. They also shared a national concern with Scotland's learning. For Johnson, his fellow countrymen occupied a special place among his wide-ranging, international clientele; for Charles Mackie, Scotland's history was one of his key topics of study in both his lectures and his research. Over the years, Johnson sent Mackie books and learned journals for his own

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[37] EUL, Mackie Papers, La.91/43, Robert Duncan to Charles Mackie.
[38] Wodrow, *Analecta*, p. 142.
[39] EUL, Mackie Papers, La.II.90/3/3, 5, Charles Mackie to Petrus Burman.
[40] George Buchanan, *Opera Omnia… in Unum jam Collecta… Curante Thoma Ruddimanno… cum Indicibus… et Praefatione Petri Burmanni.* (Lugduni Batavorum, apud Johannem Arnoldum Langerak, 1725).
[41] La.II91c/9.

consumption. Those were often reference works such as historical dictionaries, thesauri and chronological tables, which were of particular interest to Mackie. He knew exactly what Mackie was interested in and often seems to have included one or two works that had recently appeared and which he knew Mackie would enjoy.[42] Aside from his own publications—new editions of the classics, English piracies, French works and learned journals—he sent material published by others. In return for Johnson's services, Mackie assisted him in importing his publications to Scotland, taking orders on the bookseller's behalf and, on occasion, maintaining subscription lists.

An early letter illustrates Mackie's role. In October 1719, Johnson wrote:

> All the books you have demanded are ready to be sent to Rotterdam in 2 or 3 days & will go with Spence who is to sail in 10 or 12 days. the Tursel[43] is among the rest you shall also have ye 4th vol. of Homer & Priors[44] Poems which are just finished a very neat edition. I shall also send you Wicqueforts Hist. of Holland[45] a curious book in folio which I have just now published after it has been near 50 years suppressed.
>
> […]
>
> the English books, are put between the leaves of the latin & French ones in such a way as they'l not be easily seen at ye Custom house, but you must get your Cousin to separate them, to whom I send books also in your parcel.'
>
> Give your service to Mr. G. Stewart ye Bookseller, tell him he may have of Priors & Swifts works & 4th. Vol. of Homer if he'l direct me by whom to send them, but I cannot venture 'em at my risque not knowing what master to trust or to what port to send 'em safe.

Three years later, Johnson asked Mackie to send him lists of requests in advance, as '…books seldom go cheap at a very great auction'.[46]

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[42] For instance see EUL, La.II.91c/3, 1, La.II.91/34, La.II.91/62, La.II.91c/45, Johnson to Mackie.

[43] Tursellinus' *Epitome Historiae Universalis*, Mackie's main textbook for his lectures on universal history.

[44] Matthew Prior (1664–1721) was an English poet and diplomat, who resided in The Hague from 1690 until 1697. Frances Mayhew Rippy, 'Prior, Matthew (1664–1721)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22814, accessed 24 Sept 2010].

[45] Abraham de Wicquefort, *Histoire des Provinces-Unies des Pais Bas depuis le Parfait Etablissement de cet Etat par la Paix de Munster* (The Hague, 1719). De Wicquefort (1598/1608–1682) was a Dutch diplomat and spy with French connections. In 1675, he was accused of high treason.

[46] EUL, La.II.91/34, Thomas Johnson to Charles Mackie.

Mackie may have taken over John Mackie's networks after his death in 1723. Certainly in his letters Johnson relied on him to take and receive orders from Scottish book buyers. But he also gave advice on which books would be interesting for the Scottish market. In 1728 he was printing *The Travels of Cyrus*, 'in our little vol.',[47]

> which I think is a mighty pretty book, & should be valued in Scotland as being written by a Countryman.[48] Your young ladies cannot read a prettier book for their improvement & if they read the French wch is very good it is proper for learning the French language.

The book had an Edinburgh imprint and claimed to have been printed for the Company of Booksellers, which was clearly not the case. For young gentlemen, he suggested a new edition of Q. Curtius 'to read for improvement'.[49] Johnson added 'I think you might recommend both these books.' Johnson also kept an eye on Mackie's own reading. When he heard Mackie did not care much for Furetiere's *Dictionaire Universel*, he wrote:

> Mr Boswell tells me you want to dispose of the Diction. De Furetier yt I send you, not having occasion for it yourself; wch I wonder at, for I do not know any work of so universal use for a man of letters as that; in which is collected not only what is most curious in all the best french writers, by way of phrases for a free illustration of that language, but also all thatt is curious in all art & sciences, in order to explain all the parts of them on occasion of explaining the terms; so yt never such a treaure of learning was collected before in any language. I'm persuaded if you were used to consult it sometimes you would not part with it, & I leave it you at a low price, as you'l see by the note here annexed; if you let it goe to another it should be 5 or 6 guld. more[50]

The high point of their cooperation was a joint project in 1722 to market Johnson's edition of the *Oeuvres Complètes* of Pierre Bayle in Scotland.[51] Johnson had been planning this for a while and must have

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[47] Sr. Andrew Ramsay, *A New Cyropædia: or the Travels of Cyrus, with A Discourse on the Theology & Mythologie of the Ancients* (Edinburgh, 1727).

[48] Sir Andrew Michael Ramsay, baronet (1686–1743) was a philosopher and Jacobite sympathizer. His book was an attempt to reconcile the philosophy of Descartes with that of Newton in a mystical Christian context.

[49] EUL, La.II.91/62, Thomas Johnson to Charles Mackie.

[50] *Ibid.*

[51] Johnson published this edition with eight others. Pierre Bayle, *Oeuvres Diverses*, 4 vols. (La Haye, P. Husson, (vol. 4: Rotterdam), T. Johnson, (vols 1–3: P. Gosse), J. Swart, H. Scheurleer, J. van Duren, (vols 1–3: R. Alberts), C. Le Vier, F. Boucquet, 1727–1731).

felt that his Scottish clients would be keen buyers. He explained to Mackie: 'I don't know if you have very many in Scotland acquainted with Bayle's writings…, but I shall be better able to judge by the number of Subscribers…' Johnson even described their joint venture as 'our Project for printing Bayle's works'.[52] Mackie looked after the subscription list on Johnson's behalf and he managed to interest eleven takers for what must have been a fairly expensive multi-volume edition. He was also involved in the shipping and distribution of the different volumes, which were sent as and when they appeared, and as such they were jointly responsible, in part, for the introduction of Bayle into Scotland. The *Oeuvres Complètes* was published in four volumes between 1727 and 1731.[53] Johnson seems to have been genuinely concerned with introducing enlightened material into Scotland and in Mackie he found a kindred spirit to help him with his mission. A year after he had begun publishing Bayle, he toyed with the idea of doing an edition of Shaftesbury's *Characteristicks* in three small 8° volumes. In December 1733 the edition was complete and he sent twenty copies to Mackie although it is unclear whether these were meant for subscribers directly or if they were to be passed on to other booksellers.[54] That same year, he wrote to Mackie 'I am glad that you begin to publish something in Scotland that may make your ingenious men known to the rest of the world, I wish that spirit may continue.'[55]

Much has been written on the role of booksellers in the early eighteenth century Dutch Republic.[56] Marika Keblusek makes the distinction between primary agents—'fellow agents, correspondents and informants'—and 'secondary, facilitating and logistical networks' and

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[52] EUL, Mackie Papers, La.II.91/34, Johnson to Mackie. Scott Mandelbrote, 'Ramsay, Andrew Michael [Jacobite Sir Andrew Ramsay, baronet] (1686–1743)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23077, accessed 24 Sept. 2010].

[53] For the importance of this edition for Enlightenment Scotland, see Robertson, *The Case for Enlightenment*, 256.

[54] EUL La.II.91.II/62, Thomas Johnson to Charles Mackie, La.II.91.IIc/39, 45, *Idem*. It is unclear to what extent Mackie shared Johnson's interest in radical authors but neither Bayle nor Shaftesbury could be considered moderate or very Christian.

[55] La.II.91c/39, Johnson to Mackie.

[56] See for instance P. Dibon, 'Communication in the Respublica literaria of the 17th Century', *Res Publica Litterarum: Studies in the Classical Tradition*, I (1978), 43–55; P. G. Hoftijzer, 'Between Mercury and Minerva: Dutch Printing Offices and Bookshops as Intermediaries in Seventeenth-Century Scholarly Communications', in: H. Bots & F. Waquet (eds), *Commercium Litterarium. Forms of Communication in the Republic of Letters 1600–1750* (Amsterdam & Maarssen, 1994), 119–131.

she acknowledges that they often intersected and overlapped.[57] Johnson and Mackie clearly fit this description. Within the Republic of Letters, the bookseller was a primary agent, whose network was far wider than his Scottish contacts suggest. Like Alexander Cunningham of Block, Johnson was a true agent of change, actively seeking to keep Scotland informed of the learned publications appearing on the Continent in order to aid its improvement and education, while operating on an international stage.[58] Mackie, on the other hand, was a facilitator and secondary agent. He was an intermediary, a 'servant' of the Republic of Letters, to use Stegeman's terminology, not a prince.[59] He was also a gatekeeper of his own scholarly network: He was instrumental in encouraging Scottish students to go to Groningen in the 1720s and early 1730s and had a role of importance as Johnson's agent, and for a while was a key member of Scottish intellectual life, as his involvement with the associated Critics illustrates. But his influence was limited by having been tied to Johnson. When he died in 1735, Mackie's contacts in the United Provinces started to dry up. He deserves more credit than he has hitherto received, however, as he not only acted as an agent, availing himself of the channels of the Republic of Letters, but he also applied some of its ideas and introduced them into Scotland through his teaching and his research projects.

Aside from his book buying, Mackie also had a vivid interest in all that was being discussed in the Republic of Letters. He consulted the learned journals and periodicals that informed his teaching and his research as much as his books. He also kept up to date with the state of the Dutch universities and the appointment of professors. Like his uncle William Carstares, Mackie was interested in the Dutch universities for their organization as well as for their scholarship. In 1725–26 the University of Glasgow was visited and reformed and Edinburgh's medical faculty was created. These events must have interested him because he received detailed descriptions of Groningen, and even Franeker, from Alexander Morton—later Professor of Greek and Humanity at St Andrews—and Robert Duncan.[60] These were similar

[57] Marika Keblusek, 'Introduction. Profiling the Early Modern Agent', 14.

[58] Cf. P. G. Hoftijzer, 'Between Mercury and Minerva: Dutch Printing Offices and Bookshops as Intermediaries in Seventeenth-Century Scholarly Communications'; E. L. Eisenstein (eds), *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge, 1979).

[59] Stegeman, *Patronage and Service*, 3.

[60] Morton even claimed that a Scot, Mr Combry, was to join their ranks in 1740 but this seems to have been merely a rumor. NAS, GD26/13/613/1, 2.

to the ones Robert Wodrow asked for and received around 1700.[61] In 1726, Mitchell gave Mackie a full description of the teaching at Leiden where 'the Professors are almost the same as when you was here', and of the teachings at Utrecht.[62] The latter apparently responded with more questions about the Dutch universities, because almost a year later Mitchell sent extensive descriptions of the constitution and jurisdiction of Leiden and Utrecht. He included a letter from Carolus Andreas Duker (1660–1752), Professor of History at Utrecht, 'who perfectly understands the constitution of this University'.[63] Mackie was especially interested in the power of the town and the province and their relationship with the University. The idea that in Leiden, the principal (*rector magnificus*) could veto the town's decisions about university matters, must have been an appealing idea to any professor teaching at the University of Edinburgh, which still fell under the jurisdiction of the town council and had no rector. But his real interest was in the discipline of history rather than in university affairs.

The Polyhistor

John Robertson has described the state of the historical discipline in Scotland around 1700 as being in 'rude health' and 'substantially unaffected by the discussions of the nature of historical writing and of the critical treatment of evidence going on elsewhere.' Unlike on the continent, history in Scotland was still a traditional humanist lesson in virtue, 'along with an apparently growing conviction that it displayed the guiding hand of divine providence in human affairs'.[64] With the appointment of Charles Mackie as Professor of Universal History at the University of Edinburgh in 1719, a new chair was added to allow the discipline to catch up with the recent developments. History had previously been taught by private tutors or lecturers as a part of other subjects such as Latin or church history. Now it was given its own chair and a new remit. Universal or civil history, as it was also known, was to cover secular events, including some of the more contemporary,

[61] NLS, Wodrow Lett. Qu. I/107, John Smith to Robert I/154, Matthew Connell to Robert Wodrow.
[62] EUL, La.II.90/19. Also La.II.90/9, 18, John Mitchell to Charles Mackie.
[63] La.II.90/20, *Idem*. Unfortunately Mackie's letters on this have not survived.
[64] Robertson, *The Case for the Enlightenment*, 135.

and was concerned with 'the deeds and motives of individuals'.[65] In this respect Mackie's subject differed from his Glasgow colleague's who taught both ecclesiastical and civil history.[66] In addition, there was also to be a designated course on Roman antiquities for law students, in which the Faculty of Advocates had a large say.[67] The new chair greatly resembled the Dutch Chairs of History and Eloquentia. It fulfilled a long held aspiration, shared by Mackie's uncle, William Carstares, and was part of his desire to reform Edinburgh from a Town's College into a Dutch-style civic university. It is not known whether Mackie had any input in the creation of his chair. Carstares had wanted such a chair and, as his nephew and a Dutch-educated lawyer, Mackie may have had suggestions. Over the years, he certainly put his own stamp on it and although he was not a great scholar, Mackie made contributions to the development of his subject in Scotland.

In many ways Mackie was a transitional figure who encompassed the traditional seventeenth century humanist ideal of the polyhistor while at the same time embracing the Republic of Letters and its new and modern approaches towards scholarship, including its adoption of vernacular writing and teaching.[68] Mackie was, without a doubt, a Dutch-style polyhistor, the product of his Dutch training by Burman and his colleagues. Joanna Roelevink's definition of such men describes Mackie perfectly:

> [They] stressed the unity of all knowledge and the necessity of universal erudition, based on the achievement of the ancients [and] were concerned on the one hand with the gathering of factual information and the arrangement of facts in a certain order. New facts were integrated into the system of sciences, but without changing the system itself. The overall aim was to bring society at large the profit of factual and moral knowledge. Their encyclopaedical erudition went together with a strong urge to initiate an ethical revival in the Dutch universities along the lines of Christian precepts and classical concepts of virtue. Politically

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[65] J. Roelevink, '*Lux Veritatis, Magistra Vitae*: The Teaching of History at the University of Utrecht in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', *History of Universities*, 7 (1988), 149–174, 152. Cf. 'A Short Account of the University of Edinburgh'.

[66] EUL, Wod. Qu. CI–CII, Public Lectures on Civil History, 1692–1719 by William Jameson, Glasgow.

[67] Sharp, 'Charles Mackie, the First Professor of History', 27–28.

[68] Shelford, *Transforming the Republic of Letters*, 3.

> conservative, socially members of the upper middle class, professors in this tradition fully accepted the world in which they lived.[69]

Polyhistoricism did not necessarily mean old-fashioned or out-of-date. Indeed, as Anthony Grafton has argued, the works of the best of the polyhistors deserve credit for their breadth of knowledge and interests.[70] In Mackie's case, it was precisely these ideals that encouraged him to embrace the wealth of scholarship which the Republic of Letters produced, and which opened his eyes to new historical approaches and methods.

Mackie owed a great deal to his Dutch teacher Burman, whose courses he more or less imported into the Edinburgh curriculum. When they met in Leiden, Burman had only recently moved there from Utrecht as successor to the famous Professor of Greek, History and Eloquentia, Jacobus Perizonius. He was a rather dull kind of humanist. He taught his students that the classics were the sole basis for all polite and elegant learning, preferred Latin poetry to the philological-historical tradition of textual and historical criticism and, like his predecessor Perizonius, was a self-proclaimed opponent of French learning.[71] As a student of the latter's colleague and rival Jacobus Gronovius (1645–1716), his interests focused on Latin and he preferred poetry to the textual criticism Perizonius had encouraged. Burman edited the poems of Phaedrus, Horace, Claudian, Ovid and Lucan as well as the works of Petronius, Velleius Paterculus, Justinian, Quintilian and Suetonius and the *Poetae Latini Minores*.[72] He was a popular teacher who taught several Scottish (and English) students.[73] At Utrecht he taught history and eloquentia; at Leiden he

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[69] Roelevink, 'Lux Veritatis, Magistra Vitae', 157.

[70] Anthony Grafton, 'The World of the Polyhistors: Humanism and Encyclopedism', *Central European History*, 18 (1985): 31–48, at 34. Cf. Brockliss, *Calvet's Web, 7*.

[71] P. Burman, *Oratio in Humanitatis Studia* (Lugduni Batavorum, ap. S. Luchtmans, 1720) 4°, *Idem, An Oration Against the Studies of Humanity Shewing that the Learned Languages, History, Eloquence and Critcik are Not Only Useless, but Also Dangerous to the Studies of Law, Physick, Philosophy, and Above All Divinity; to which Last Poetry is a Special Help, Translated into English, and the Original Annext.* (London, printed for J. W. and sold by J. Roberts, 1721) 12°. Cf. Mijnhardt, 'Dutch Culture in the Age of William and Mary', 227.

[72] Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 443.

[73] Robert and George Clerk; Andrew Wauchope of Niddry; John, Marques of Carnarvon, the son of the first Duke of Chandos; Alexander Boswell; Andrew Mitchell and of course Alexander Leslie and Charles Mackie himself. NAS, GD18/5299/21; GD18/5396/2; GD247/177/6/11–18; EUL, La.II.90/9; La.II.91/60; La.II.91c/6. Chandos had Scottish connections. Joan Johnson, 'Brydges, James, first duke of Chandos

was to teach contemporary history (*historia Foederati Belgii*) in addition to Dutch (*historia Hollandiae*) and universal history (*historia universalis*).[74] Such courses were not exclusive to Leiden. In 1696, Johannes Mensinga (1635–1698), Professor of History and Eloquentia at Groningen and Rossal's predecessor, had also been required to teach *historia Patriae*, and Burman's successors at Utrecht, the Perizonians Arnoldus Drakenborch (1648–1748) and Carolus Andreas Duker (1660–1752) also taught Dutch history and universal history respectively. Mackie's courses in a way can therefore be seen as part of a Dutch tradition.

Mackie and Leslie would have sat in on Burman's occasional public lectures on topical subjects, and they attended all of Burman's colleges on universal history, on contemporary history and on classical antiquity. For universal history, they used a textbook by a sixteenth-century Italian Jesuit, Orazio Torsellino, (Tursellinus), entitled *Epitome Historiae Universalis*. It had first been introduced to the Leiden history curriculum by Perizonius' teacher Johann Conrad Nuber in the late 1670s, but was popularized as a textbook by his pupil.[75] There were definite problems with this Roman Catholic text. Perizonius had criticized Tursellinus' Latin but its style was elegant, its chronology was deemed accurate and there were few alternatives available.[76] For his course on *historia Patriae*, Burman may have used the enlarged edition of Tursellinus' or Perizonius' own textbook *Rerum per Europam*.[77]

(1674–1744)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2010 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3806, accessed 29 Sept 2010] and Mackillop, 'Accessing Empire'.

[74] Th. J. Meijer, *Kritiek als Herwaardering. het Levenswerk als Jacob Perizonius (1651–1715)* (Leiden, 1971), 142–3.

[75] Meijer, *Kritiek als Herwaardering*, 30–1. Molhuysen, *Bronnen der Leidsche Universiteit*, Series Lectionem 1680, 1681. The first edition of the *Epitome Historiae Universalis* was published in 1598. Roelevink, *'Lux Veritatis, Magistra Vitae'*, 159. Perizonius worked on a new edition of the *Epitome*, which was never published. J. C. Bedaux, 'Jacob Perizonius' in: Jan Bloemendal en Chris Heesakkers, (eds), *Biobibliografie van Nederlandse Humanisten.* Digitale uitgave DWC/Huygens Instituut KNAW (Den Haag 2009). http://www.dwc.knaw.nl/english/biography/dutchhuman/.

[76] Roelevink, *'Lux Veritas, Magistra Vitae'*, 159; Meijer, *Kritiek als Herwaardering*, 185–6.

[77] RUL, LTK 650, Dictata P. Burmannus Ad Historiam Patriam. The *STCN* lists 9 editions of the *Epitome Historiae Universalis* that were printed in the United Provinces; four printed in Franeker by Leonard Strik (1688, 1692, 1695 and 1703), two in Utrecht by Van de Water (1703, 1710), two in Utrecht by Van Poolsum, and one French edition, printed in Amsterdam in 1708 by P. Humbert. The first enlarged edition was printed in 1692, one year before Perizonius' appointment in Leiden. The French edition

The course which would have intrigued Mackie the most would have been the lawyers' college on classical antiquity, which had been a mainstay at Leiden since it had been introduced by the Senate in 1692. It was for this course that Burman had written his *Antiquitatum Romanarum Brevis Descriptio*, which Mackie imported in 1721.[78] In emulation of Perizonius' treatment of Roman antiquity, it included discussions of Roman culture, religion and military affairs alongside the standard political and legal history of Rome.[79] In addition, Burman also taught (private) colleges on separate authors—for instance, in 1720 he taught a course on Horace—as well as a 'Historicall College on Authors', a course on historiography.[80]

Burman's teaching made a great impression on Mackie and, when he was appointed at Edinburgh, he more or less copied the courses on universal history and the lawyers' course on antiquity straight from Leiden, even using the same textbooks. At first glance, this looks like an uninspiring and lazy decision, but it may very well have been part of Mackie's decision to provide in Edinburgh what was available abroad. Whenever necessary, he questioned the textbooks, especially Tursellinus', and he took great care to provide additional information and to discuss additional sources. Moreover, some of Mackie's other teachers, especially Michael Rossal and his French colleagues at Groningen, left their mark on Mackie's courses and gave him the means of modifying the content of Burman's courses. Rossal was a Greek scholar who considered this language to be an important auxiliary to Hebrew and who worked mainly from biblical texts. At the

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was a second edition of the original French translation that had appeared two years earlier in Paris. This was the edition Mackie had in his library. Note that the 1718 Van de Water edition of which there is a copy in the Edinburgh University Library (pressmark E.B. .909 Tor.) is not listed in the *STCN*. For more on Perizonius' use of Tursellinus see: Meijer, *Kritiek als Herwaardering*, 179–184. J. Perizonius, *Rerum per Europam Maxime Gestarum ab Ineunte Saeculo Sextodecimo Usque ad Caroli V. Mortem &c. Commentarii Historici*. (Lugduni Batavorum, ap. J. vander Linden juniorem, 1710) 8°.

[78] *Antiquitatum Romanarum Brevis Descriptio* (Ultrajecti, 1702) 8°. E. O. G. Haitsma-Mulier & G. A. C. van der Lem (eds), *Repertorium van Geschiedschrijvers in Nederland 1500–1800* (Den Haag, 1990), 81. The first edition under Burman's name appeared in 1711: *Antiquitatum Romanarum Brevis Descriptio* (Ultrajecti, ap. G. vande Water typ., 1711) 8°. For the Scottish editions see Cairns, 'Three Unnoticed Scottish Editions'.

[79] This was also roughly the order in Basil Kennett's *Romae Antiquae Notitia, or the Antiquities of Rome* (1696), which would have been familiar to many Scots.

[80] NAS, GD247/177/6/16, Accounts Wauchope of Niddry's expenses. Molhuysen, *Bronnen der Leidsche Universiteit*, IV, 'Resoluties der Curatoren', 161.

same time, he considered ancient Greece to be the '*fontem doctrinae omnes*' and its inhabitants were '*scientiae Principes, Auctores et Doctores*'. For this reason, the language and history of ancient Greece had value in itself.[81] Rossal underlined the importance of scholarly erudition, history and *politica*. He was suspicious of translations, which all too often contained historical and linguistic errors, and he was skeptical of classical authors such as Herodotus and Ovid who included myths and fables in their histories. He preferred instead the scholarly approach of Thucydides. Mackie had learned all that from Rossal himself but he continued to be intrigued by the Frenchman's work. By applying methods of textual criticism and discussing problems of syntax, language and original sources, Rosall aimed to uncover historical and chronological errors about classical and oriental antiquity.[82] Robert Duncan wrote to Mackie about two of Rossal's publications, *Observatio de Christo, per Errorem in Chrestum Mutolo* (1717) and the *Dissertatio ad Locum Insignem Valerij Maximi* (1720).[83] As Duncan related to Mackie in 1723:

> He in that Dissertation proves that it is probable Darius Hystaspis was called Ochus before he came to the throne & whereas the Poena Cinerum was attributed [by] Ovid. […] to Darius Secundus he proves Darius Midus was the first King of Persia he proves that the Poena Cinerum was not a being burnt alive but a choaking in ashes. He has likewise […] a great many nice Observations on the Similitude of the Pronunciation of the vowels e & I in the Greek.[84]

If this carried Duncan's approval, Rossal's questioning in his lectures of the authority of the Leiden classicist Scaliger would have appalled him but probably not Mackie who would have his own doubts

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[81] Gerretzen, *Schola Hemsterhusiana*, 30. Gerretzen quotes from Rossal's inaugural lecture. Michael Rossal, *De Praestantia Linguae Graecae ad Artium, Quibus Liberales Doctrinae Continentur, Cognitionem Adipiscendam* (Groningae, 1708).

[82] EUL, La.II.91/36, Robert Duncan to Charles Mackie.

[83] Michael Rossal, *Dissertatio ad Locum Insignem Valerii Maximi in Qua Nonnulla Tum ad Linguam Graecam & Latinam, Tum ad Antiquitatem […] Pertinentia, Illustrantur* (Groningae, Ex Off. J. a Velsen, 1720) 8°, *Idem*, *Observatio de Christo, per Errorem in Chrestum Commutato* (Groningen, 1717). The latter was Rossal's most important work, and was reviewed by Jean Le Clerc in his *Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne*, VII (1717), 288–305. Jan Gerard Gerretzen, *Schola Hemsterhusiana: De Herleving der Grieksche Studien aan de Nederlandsche Universiteiten in de Achttiende Eeuw van Perizonius tot en met Valckenaer* (n.p., 1940), 33.

[84] *Ibid.*

concerning Scaliger's chronology some twenty years later.[85] Having read Ralph Cudworth's *True Intellectual System of the Universe* (1678), Mackie too came to question Scaliger's chronology.[86] There are other clear traces of Rossal's methods in Mackie's teaching.

Burman and Rossal were not the only ones whose works marked his notebooks and lectures. Among his lecture notes is a set of notes on, among other things, the translation of classical texts from Arabic into Spanish, the origins of the Greek language, linguistic theory and phonology of the oriental languages.[87] In the same set there are notes on numismatics and a number of references to the work of Siwart Haverkamp, who was first lector of Latin and Greek, and, later, alongside Burman, Professor of Greek, History and Eloquentia at Leiden. Mackie knew about Havercamp's colleges on medals 'of which he has a very good collection' from Andrew Mitchell, but he does not appear to have corresponded with him personally.[88]

The best indication of what Mackie taught and worked on comes from his extensive surviving papers, which are largely held at the University of Edinburgh. He was a compulsive note-taker and list-maker and clearly read his material carefully. There are unfortunately no books with marginalia, nor was his reading a public or communal experience like Harvey's when he read his Livy, but his papers do show a high level of engagement.[89] He copied down ideas on specific publications such as:

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[85] EUL, La.II.91/38, *Idem*.

[86] EUL, La.II.37/4, Note on Cudworth. Cudworth first gained popularity in the United Provinces in the circles of Remonstrants and Huguenot exiles. L. Simonutti, 'Bayle and Le Clerc as Readers of Cudworth. Elements of the Debate on *Plastic Nature* in the Dutch Learned Journals', *Geschiedenis van de Wijsbegeerte in Nederland*, 4, 2 (1993), 147–165, 152.

[87] EUL, La.II.37/123, Charles Mackie's lecture notes.

[88] EUL, La.II.91c/6, Andrew Mitchell to Mackie. Incidentally, Burman did not approve much of Havercamp. EUL, La.II.90/21, John Mitchell to Charles Mackie. Havercamp appears to have been an incompetent scholar. John Edwin Sandys, *A History of Classical History II. From the Revival of Learning to the End of the Eighteenth Century (In Italy, France, England and the United Provinces)* (New York and London, 1967), 447. Mitchell refers to numismatics one other time, describing 'a book of medals which contains the rarest and most curious medals in the Duke of Saxa-Gotha's Cabinet', published by his librarian. EUL, La.II.91c/69, John Mitchell to Charles Mackie.

[89] Lisa Jardine & Anthony Grafton, '"Studied For Action": How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy', *Past and Present*, 129, 1 (1990), 30–78.

> Royal Genealogys by Ja. Anderson in 2 parts containing 812 pages in Fol. See his own account of this work in Rep. of Lett. Dec. 1731. p. 406–416

He made notes on topical discussions and discoveries such as Sir Isaac Newton's scandalous abbreviation of ancient chronology:

> arg's for & agt Newton's Chronology
> see what has been argued for and ag^{t} it, in y^{e} Present State of y^{e} Repub. of Letters, vol. 3 Art 11, 15, 28, 29, 41. Vol 4 art 4, & 12. vol. 8. Art 14, 22[90]

Other representative entries concerned the methodology and purpose of his discipline:

> History. In order to form an adequet judgement of ye worth & excellency of any History we must examine. 1. the weight & moment of its subject. 2. whether whatever is contain'd in it be true, or at least probable. And 3. the manner in wc ye historical facts are related; yt is if it be regular, perspicuous, & in all points adapted to ye nature of its subject. This last, in a word takes in ye author's Method, embellishment & stile. Rep of Letters July 1731 p. 7.'

Annotations such as these from books and journals in Latin, French and English published mostly in the United Provinces and Britain, made their way into Mackie's teaching and his research projects.

His library does not survive but judging by his notes, lists and inventories of his books, it must have been impressive, even though it is not always clear whether he owned a book, borrowed it or read about it in the learned journals which he owned or borrowed from the university library.[91] Still, these are further indicators of what his concerns and interests were. His library, like any of the time, had numerous editions of the Greek and Latin classics and some translations from the Greek into French and English. He had works by most of the well-known ancient philosophers, historians and literary figures though he seldom seems to have bought complete works. He had and continued to buy a good deal of ancient history. Vertot's *Histoire du Revolutions de Rome* was purchased in January 1721 along with several others that year. He bought odd items such as *The Wives of the Twelve Caesars* and fashionable but suspect works such as Conyers Middleton's *Letter from Rome* (1729), which was anti-Catholic and hardly Christian. He

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[90] Cf. Frank E. Manuel, *Isaac Newton. Historian* (Cambridge, 1963).

[91] EUL, Dc.5.24, Common place book of Scottish History etc.; Dc.8.50, Notes Charles Mackie.

purchased Charles Rollin's *Ancient History* (1730–1734) and read histories of the Visigoths, Gauls, Picts and other peoples of the dark ages. Among the authors who figure in his book orders, lectures and commonplace books are Muratori (1672–1750), Mabillon (1632–1707), Montfaucon (1655–1741), Foncemagne (1694–1779), Bede (672/673–735), George Hicks, Bishop Edward Stillingfleet (1635–1699), Bishop William Nicholson (1591–1672), Thomas Rymer (c.1643–1713), Harry Maule, James Anderson (1662–1728), Thomas Innes (1662–1744) and others too obscure and numerous to mention.[92] His modern Scottish historical sources included Buchanan (1506–1582), John Spottiswood (1565–1639), David Calderwood (1575–1650), Robert Wodrow, Patrick Abercrombie (1656–c. 1716) and other writers on Scotland; Bacon, Spellmann, Clarendon, Rapin (1661–1725), and Tindal on England; Leclerc on the United Provinces, Molesworth (1656–1725) on Denmark, Gianone (1676–1748) and Maffei (1653–1716) on Italy and a variety of writers on the rest of Europe, including even Voltaire. Many of those authors had written or had published during his lifetime and some out-lived him. He supplemented his political and diplomatic reading with church histories by the Catholic authors Baronius (1538–1607), Turrettini (1671–1737), the Benedictines of St Maur and Dom Calmet (1672–1757) and the Episcopalian Gilbert Burnet. For histories of philosophy he began with Thomas Stanley's *Lives of the Philosophers* (1655) and even used works such as Charles DuFresnoy's *Art of Painting* (1687). He was also an avid reader of the latest French and English periodicals, including Johnson's *Journal Littéraire* and perhaps also his *Le Mercure Galant* and *Le Misantrope*, Bayle's *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* and Jean LeClerc's *Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique, Bibliothèque Choisie, Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne*, and the English *Present State of the Republick of Letters*. He had an interest in the barbarians as well, purchasing and reading works on the Persians, Greeks, Egyptians and the Muslims. Finally, he owned Pierre Bayle's and Louis Moreri's dictionaries, Johannes Georgius Graevius' *Thesaurus* and had some atlases and maps.[93] Mackie even had a few manuscripts. Among them were those which shed light on ancient chronology such as Newton's '*An Abstract of Chronology*'. He also

[92] EUL, Dc.5.24.2.

[93] Johannes Georgius Graevius, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum*, 12 parts (Traject. ad Rhen., ap. F. Halmam Bibl., Lugd. Batavor., ap. P. vander Aa, 1694) 2.°

secured manuscripts by friends such as Sir John Clerk of Penicuik to discuss the extent and course of the Antonine Wall, part of which ran through Sir John Clerk's property and others to correct the accounts given by Sir John Clerk's friend Alexander Gordon in *Intinerarium Septrioniale*.[94]

For many of Mackie's books, it is impossible to establish where they came from. What we do know is that many of his most important sources—the historical dictionaries, the thesauri and the journals—came from Johnson. These included—in no particular order—Lenglet Dufresnoy's chronological tables; several maps and a copy of Ptolemy's *Geography*; the four volumes of Bayle's *Oeuvres Complètes* and the *Dictionaire Historique et Critique*; Furetiere's *Dictionaire Universel*; Wicquefort's *Histoire d'Hollande*; several volumes of Fabricius' *Bibliotheca Graeca*; Alexander Cunningham's *Horace* and the accompanying *Animadversiones*; Leclerc's *Histoire des Provinces Unies*; Heineccius' *Antiquitates Romanae*; several dissertations by Jean Barbeyrac as well as his *Défense du Droit de la Compagnie Hollandoise*; Burnet's *History of his Times*; as well as numerous new editions of the classics and the English authors, which Johnson specialized in publishing, including Pope, Swift and Shaftesbury.

Mackie's notes and library informed his teaching, which in turn tells us a great deal about his interests in and influences from the Republic of Letters. While he followed Tursellinus closely in the same way as Burman had done at Leiden, he corrected, added and expanded where necessary, often using recent works.[95] His course in world history was famously described in the *Scots Magazine* of 1741 in 'A short account of the University of Edinburgh':

> He gives a college on *Tursellini Epitome Historiarum*; in which; beginning from the earliest account of time, he explains the great revolutions that have happened in the world. After the declension of the Roman Empire in the West, he gives an account of the migrations and settlement of the several nations which overspread that empire, and of the different governments by them introduced; upon the ruins of which the present constitutions of most countries in Europe are founded. He likewise shews the rise and progress of the Papal tyranny, &c.

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[94] EUL, Dc.5.24.

[95] NLS, Adv, Ms 5/1/4, Petri Burmanni Dictata in Horatij Tursellini Historiam Epitomen; EUL, Mackie Papers, La.II.37/87–90, 301–344; La.III.237. Cf. La.II.90/8 and Sharp, 'Charles Mackie', 36.

> During the whole course of these lectures, he adduces the authority of the best Historians, pointing out the particular passages in their writings; and, upon all great events, refers to remarkable passages in the *Grand Corps Diplomatique, Rymer's Foedera*, and other authentick vouchers, particularly the ancient treaties and alliance between Sovereigns, the foundations of several claims of Princes to particular territories, &c. He likewise gives an account of the most celebrated Writers on all subjects, to make his students acquainted with the history of Learning in all ages; and takes occasion to detect many vulgar errors in History.[96]

We know more about this course because there are two surviving sets of manuscripts of those lectures. The first, in Mackie's own hand, dates from around 1741. It has pages of two columns with the narrative on one side and notes on sources and authors on the other. The source list seems to have been added to over time but the narrative seems to have remained much the same. The second manuscript was taken down by a student and is dated 1747.[97]

Mackie covered 'world history' 'from the beginning of the world to the year of Christ 1516'.[98] While this was a fairly traditional continental-style history course, he used some very modern authors to supplement and correct Tursellinus. One was Thomas Rymer's multi-volume *Foedera* published from 1704 until its completion in 1735.[99] Another set, the *Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens* came out in 1726 but Pufendorf's supplement to it was not published until 1739.[100] He was also interested in discussing critical historical methods and

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[96] 'A Short Account of the University of Edinburgh', *Scots Magazine* (1741).

[97] EUL, Mackie Papers, La.II.37/87–90, 301–344; La.III.237. More than likely these were part of the same lecture series.

[98] EUL, Mackie Papers, La.II.37/87–90, Prolegomena Historiae Universalis; /301–344, Lecture notes; La.III.237, Lectures on universal history based on O. Tursellino's *Historiarum…epitomae libri decem*, taken down by a student. 23 Dec. 1747 to 6 May 1748. Cf. Sharp, 'Charles Mackie', p. 32.

[99] Thomas Rymer, *Foedera, Conventiones, Literae, et Cujuscunque Generis Acta Publica, Inter Reges Angliae, et Alios Quosuis Imperatores, Reges,…Ab Anno 1101, Ad Nostra Usque Tempora, Habita Aut Tractata…In Lucem Missa de Mandato Reginae* (Londini, per A. & J. Churchill, 1704–1735) 2° (and other editions).

[100] Jean du Mont, *Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, Contenant l'Histoire des Anciens Traitez,…Depuis les Tems le Plus Reculez Jusque* à *l'Empereur de Charlemagne*, 2 vols (Amsterdam, P. Brunel, La Haye, P. Husson, 1726) 2°, Jean de Barbeyrac, *Supplement au Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, Contenant l'Histoire des Anciens Traitez,…Depuis les Tems le Plus Reculez Jusque* à *l'Empereur de Charlemagne*, 8 vols. (Amsterdam, les Janssons à Waesberge…, La Haye, P. de Hondt, 1739) 2°. Mackie's lecture notes on German history, as part of his course on universal history have survived and were indeed based on Pufendorf, alongside Burman. EUL, Mackie Papers, La.II.37/301–344.

chronology. Like his teacher Burman, Mackie stressed to his students that the proper understanding and appreciation of universal history required an understanding of both old and new authors and the correction of accounts such as Tursellinus' which was partial and often erroneous.[101]

Mackie had substantial interests in historical criticism and methods and pursued those topics outside his classroom. In a paper entitled 'A Dissertation on the Sources of Vulgar Errors in History and How to Detect & Rectify them' delivered to the Edinburgh Philosophical Society in 1741, he set out his, admittedly not strikingly original, methodology. Most of his arguments had been around since Roman times.[102] 'Truth', Mackie declared, 'is the very soul of history'.

> yet in all ages it has been so much corrupted & mixed with Fables by many Writers on ye subject, that I imagine it may not be an improper enquiry to search into ye grounds & reasons of ye many vulgar errors which have crept into history, & to illustrate ym with a few obvious examples. Then I propose to give some rules, which if attended to, may assist us in ascertaining the truth of history & distinguishing between what is true & what is not; to paint out some Criteria by means of which we may lay a proper Foundation for a rational belief of historical Facts, & prevent on ye one hand, our being impos'd upon by Forgerys; & on ye other; ye hazard of running into ye contrary extreme of imagining all History to be spurious.[103]

Mackie identified 'a passion for illustrious origins' as one of the biggest problems in historical writing. Following Varro, he divided the past into three periods: '[the] obscure or unknown, [the] Fabulous and [the] Historical.' Applying this method to Scotland's own past, Mackie noticed that a large part of it came under the first two categories. He warned against tradition as a guide for the history of these times. 'The

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[101] NLS, Adv, Ms 5/1/4, Petri Burmanni Dictata in Horatij Tursellini Historiam Epitomen; EUL, Mackie Papers, La.II.37/87–90, 301–344; La.III.237. Cf. La.II.90/8 and Sharp, 'Charles Mackie', 36.

[102] Mackie may have been influenced by Leclerc's *Ars Critica* (1697), which was the topic of a polemical debate on the nature of historical criticism with Jacobus Perizonius, Burman's predecessor at Leiden, and champion of the humanist method, which Leclerc vehemently opposed in his work. Anthony Grafton, *What was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2007), 1–20. After Perizonius' death Burman continued his battle against Leclerc and the influence of French scholarship. Although so far no evidence has been found that Mackie had read *Ars Critica*, he had read other works by Leclerc and followed the French learned journals closely. Cf. EUL, Mackie Papers, Dc5.24[2], Commonplace book.

[103] EUL, Mackie Papers, La.II.37/92–104.

most that can be expected from it, is to fix the certainly and dates of a few very remarkable and extraordinary occurrences […] such as the Succession of Kings, or some bloody battles, But it can never fournish us with an uninterrupted series of events.' Mackie used Fordun (before 1360–*c.*1384) as an example of an author who made the mistake of relying on tradition and hearsay. He hastened to add, however, that prior to the Wars of Succession, many sources had been available. As a result, 'I would not be understood as if I meant to determine all that part of our history to be entirely spurious and fabulous'. He then went on to make a point about 'need[ing] say nothing of the subsequent writers of our History, the Chief of which are Jo. Major, Hector Boece, Jo Leslie Bishop of Ross, and Buchanan, who in the main copy after one another'. He was careful not to pass judgment on these giants of Scottish Whig historiography, but he denounced Boece for his use of fictional authors and criticized Buchanan for his lack of originality. The final and most critical Scottish historian to come under attack in his paper was Father Thomas Innes, a Catholic priest and historian, who had recently published *A Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of the Northern Parts of Britain or Scotland* (1729) in which he used precise historical methods to refute the mythic history of the Scottish kings. Mackie acknowledged that this work contained 'some very ingenious things', yet he accused Innes of doing the same thing he accused others of doing: he replaced one tradition of the Scottish line of kings from Fergus I to Fergus II with another, 'a favourite scheme of high Pictish Antiquitys'. As a result, he had not actually debunked the Fergusian myth at all, and, Mackie added, 'the storry of our first 40 or 45 Kings, may still be true.'[104] The paper then listed other sources of errors. History suffered as a result of forgeries, appeals to the marvellous, the stories of travelers; national(istic) and religious zeal, ignorance, credulity and superstition. The dangers of 'religious affairs' worried Mackie in particular. In ancient times, religious and political authority had been one and people 'had no separate interest of their own to advance, […] but the case became greatly altered when under the specious pretence of advancing and promoting the best religion […], a Spiritual hierarchy was set up…' 'Now', Mackie concluded,

[104] In his lectures, Mackie's judgment of Innes was much harsher, dismissing his work as 'fabulous' and false. EUL, Mackie Papers, La.III.237/387.

> Mankind being divided in their opinion with regard to things of such high importance and with so much bitterness; it is easy to be conceived that the causes and sources of all these disorders and mischiefs, as well as the facts themselves must be differently represented by the several historians as they were addicted to this or t'other religious sect or party.[105]

Lastly, there were certain types of history of which Mackie strongly disapproved. Narrative (the 'itch of storytelling'), poetry, family annals and funeral orations all led to a distortion of the truth or even mythology. Mackie had little patience with the 'Monkish writers of Chronicles', who embodied everything that was bad about historical writing. Authentic sources, reason and logic ought to be the historians' sole tools. 'Besides', Mackie went on, 'men in low life [such as monks] have little access to be rightly informed of the truth of transactions.'

> In this respect, the ancient compilers of History have a great advantage over those of the middle ages and most of the moderns. Herodot, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Sallust, Livy, Tacitus, Plutarch, Dio Cassius, were most of them men of high birth, all men of eminency and distinguished rank, and many of them were deeply concerned in the direction of the public affairs of their times. So if any of them have failed upon some occasions to represent things fairly, it was not for want of knowledge and capacity.[106]

Such views were scattered through his history lectures and collected only in his paper for the Philosophical Society. They often got illustrations from the history of Scotland. Indeed, his 1741 paper has traditionally been read as a plain Whig attack on Father Thomas Innes's 'Picto-Jacobitism'.[107] In fact, it is better read as an engagement with the contemporary European discussion on chronology and the critical study of historical sources, which accompanied it. Mackie's methodology worked to establish facts but those had to be ordered and the most basic order was chronology. The basis for all narrative history was chronology. In both his course on *Antiquitates* and on universal history he lectured on this and his extramural historical work centered on this topic almost obsessively. The introduction to his course on Tursellinus included separate sections entitled '*De Varia Ratione*

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[105] EUL, Mackie Papers, La.II.37/92–104, A Dissertation on the Sources of Vulgar Errors in History and How to Detect & Rectify them. Read to the Philosophical Society. 4 March 1741.

[106] *Ibid.*

[107] Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*, 101–107, 117.

Computandi Temporis' and '*De Divisione Historicae*'.[108] One had to address chronological issues to relate the events of various cultures in the ancient world and to establish the national history of the Scots, which was done for the first time in his own lifetime, notably by Father Thomas Innes and William Robertson and, shortly after his death, by David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes and other historians.

Chronology, both biblical and of ancient history, was an issue of great scholarly importance in the first half of the eighteenth century among antiquarians and classicists throughout Europe. As a discipline it had been around for a long time but it was given a particular vogue in the late sixteenth century when Joseph Scaliger produced his famous *Opus Novum de Emendatione Temporum* (Paris, 1583). Scaliger's work inspired both awe and controversy and throughout the seventeenth century scholars in both Britain and on the Continent occupied themselves with the problem of establishing the correct dates of historical events, epochs and the flourishing of civilizations; in the British Isles, Bishop James Ussher's (1581–1656) system was commonly accepted. Chronology was at the center of the historical discipline and Jean Leclerc, in his *Ars Critica* (1697), famously had declared it, alongside geography, one of the eternal touchstones of the critical study of history.[109] It also had religious implications.

By the early eighteenth century, new life was given to the discussion by the involvement of Sir Isaac Newton. The unauthorized publication by the Abbé Conti in 1720 of his manuscript entitled 'An Abstract of Chronology' caused great upheaval throughout antiquarian Europe.[110] Mackie followed the discussion closely. He even owned two hand-written copies of Newton's work: a transcribed, annotated and interpreted copy of 'An Abstract of Chronology By Sir Isaac Newton' and an annotated copy of 'A Short Chronicle from the First Memory of Things in Europe to the Conquest of Persia by Alexander ye Great'.[111] He may have obtained these via Thomas Johnson and his clandestine networks or through his friend the mathematician, Colin MacLaurin. Judging by the titles, the first may have been a copy of the first translation of the French edition, which was originally published in 1725. The second

[108] EUL, La.II.37/86, Prolegomena Historiae Universalis.
[109] Anthony Grafton, *What was History?*, 7.
[110] Manuel, *Isaac Newton. Historian*, 1–2. Much of this had been known in manuscript form since the 1690s. It was published without Newton's consent.
[111] EUL, La.II.37/8.

may have been one of the clandestine manuscript copies of Newton's original, which had been floating around since 1720.[112] He collected references to the discussion from the learned journals and had his correspondents report on the debate on the Continent.[113] He was certainly aware of the English translation in 1728, and probably read it as soon as it appeared, as the notes from the *Present State of the Republick of Letters* show.[114] In September of that year, Alexander Boswell wrote to him about it from Leiden. Apparently answering Mackie's question, Boswell told him that Burman had no opinion on Newton's work yet.[115] What was at issue in the discussions was whether Newton had been right in excising about four hundred years from traditional dating of events in ancient Greece and the correctness of his reason for doing so. Any lecturer on world history had to be concerned with such issues but Mackie's interests went further.

Newton was not the only disturber of the historian's peace. Freethinkers and deists also entered the debates in the late 17th century and challenged the traditional belief that the world was only a few thousand years old. For instance, two years after the appearance of Newton's original manuscript, the Huguenot Spinozist Simon Tyssot de Patot (1655–1738) published a thirty-five-page treatise on biblical chronology in Thomas Johnson's *Journal Littéraire*.[116] Such works clarified the religious implications of the study of chronology. For most concerned with chronological works, their interests were religious and often confessional or freethinking. At the same time, chronologists

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[112] Isaac Newton, *Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology, Abridged by Himself. To which are Added, Some Observations on the Chronology of Sir Isaac Newton. Done from the French, by a Gentleman* (London, 1728). Manuel, *Isaac Newton. Historian*, 22, 29.

[113] For instance, in his Common Place book he wrote 'see what has been argued for and ag^{t} [Newton's chronology], in y^{e} Present State of y^{e} Repub. of Letters, vol. 3 Art 11, 15, 28, 29, 41. Vol. 4 art 4, & 12. vol. 8. Art 14, 22.' EUL, Mackie Papers, Dc.5.24^{2}/118. The original review had appeared in September 1728: 'A Critical and Apologetical Dissertation for Sir Isaac Newton's New System of Chronology and Mythology…', *The Present State of the Republick of Letters*, 2 (Sept. 1728), 210–220. In the autumn of 1728, one of his main correspondents, John Mitchell, wrote, apparently in answer to Mackie's request, of the apparent lack of interest in Newton's chronology among the scholars at Leiden and Utrecht as a result of their poor or nonexistent English. La.II.90/23, John Mitchell to Mackie. Mitchell had recently arrived in London from the United Provinces. Around the same time, Alexander Boswell reported from Leiden that Burman had not yet given his opinion on the subject. La.II.91/61, Boswell to Mackie.

[114] EUL, Dc.5.24^{2}/118, 'arg's for & agt Newton's Chronology'.

[115] EUL, La.II.91/61, Alexander Boswell to Charles Mackie.

[116] 'Discours de Simon Tyssot Sr. Patot', *Journal Littéraire*, 12 (1722) 154–189.

had cultural and patriotic motivations: a carefully worked-out history of the ancient peoples could shed light on how these were mutually related but also allowed a deeper insight into the cultural interactions of the remote past, which in turn had implications for present peoples such as the Scots. Mackie may have appreciated all that but he was mostly interested in the cultural and national arguments.

He owned numerous chronological tables, including some of the most contemporary ones, such as those by the freethinker Nicholas Lenglet Dufresnoy taken from his *New Method of Studying History*, and a second edition of Perizonius' *Tabulae Chronologica*.[117] His interest went even further and in the late 1730s he considered making his own contribution to the chronology debate. He compiled countless chronological lists with help from the publications he received from the Republic of Letters. To his credit, he did not just copy the chronologies of others but he seems to have tried to work out a new set of dates for the whole of ancient history. His main sources for this were Graevius' *Thesaurus*, Bayle's *Dictionaire* and Fabricius' *Bibliotheca Graeca*, and the learned journals. The result would have been a new comparative table, but he never completed it.[118] Alongside this chronological project must be considered the paper he read to the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh in 1741. It may very well have been meant as part of the planned supplement to Lenglet Dufresnoy. It certainly echoed his *New Method of Studying History*, which included chapters on 'Cautions to be used in the Reading of Historians', 'The Marks of a good and bad Historian', 'Rules for the Judging of Historical Facts', 'Rules for the Discovery of Spurious Works' and 'What Use may be made of Spurious Facts, and counterfeit or Dubious Works, and partial Historians.'[119] Mackie set out his own methodology against the backdrop of a national debate and it may be that he had a Scottish table in mind as a supplement. On the other hand, he may have wanted to

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[117] Nicolas Lenglet Dufresnoy, *A New Method of Studying History: Recommending More Easy and Complete Instructions…In Two Volumes.…Originally Written in French by M. Langlet Dufresnoy,…The Whole Made English, with Variety of Improvements and Corrections…Also, a Dissertation by Count Scipi Maffei…By Richard Rawlinson,…* (London, 1728). The French original had appeared in 1713. Perizonius *Tabulae Chronologica*, 2 vols (Leiden, 1714).

[118] La.II.37//17v-3, Chronology. This may have been a draft for this but unfortunately there is no date. It compared several chronological systems including Ussher, Newton and Lenglet Fresnoy. Cf. La.II.37/179–180v, Chronological table.

[119] Lenglet Dufresnoy, *A New Method of Studying History.*

publish a revised edition with his own chronological calculations. As a contemporary reviewer wrote, Lenglet had already corrected certain errors once and he may have had to do so again.[120]

All this becomes more intriguing when we consider that Lenglet Dufresnoy himself had plagiarized large chunks of the *New Method of Studying History* from Boulainvilliers' *Abregé d'Histoire Universelle*.[121] When his work appeared, he was working as a bookseller in Amsterdam. He was one of the most notorious deists of the 1720s and 1730s and an admirer of Bayle. He moved in similar circles as Thomas Johnson. Indeed, his text was translated by the book collector, topographer and bishop of the nonjuring Church of England, Richard Rawlinson (1690–1755), who is known to have visited Thomas Johnson. Like Johnson, he was a book dealer in clandestina and had also published a Spinozist text, the misleadingly entitled *Réfutation des Erreurs de Benôit de Spinosa* (1731). Mackie must have known about all this, as Lenglet's work was reviewed in Johnson's *Journal Littéraire* in 1731, which condemned Lenglet Dufresnoy's plagiarism but praised Boullainvilliers' (1658–1722). Mackie would later on condemn the latter's *Life of Mohamet* as a work of 'romance'.[122] This may have been because of its clear Spinozism, although the *Abregé d'Histoire Universelle* stemmed from before the time of Boullainvilliers' 'conversion' to this philosophy. In other words, this is not necessarily the reason why Mackie decided not to publish his supplement to Lenglet Dufresnoy's tables; it may have had more to do with the fact that Lenglet Dufresnoy published his own tables in 1744.[123] In 1765, Mackie drafted another manuscript entitled 'A general table of chronology for the assistance of the memory', which was never published either.[124] His schemes were, however, realized in the work of one of his students, John Blair, who, in 1754, published *A Chronology of the World from Creation to 1753*,

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[120] 'Méthode pour étudier l'histoire…', in: in *The Present State of the Republick of Letters*, 4 (July 1729), 24–34.

[121] This was probably published between 1707 and 1715.

[122] Henri, Comte de Boulainvilliers, *The life of Mahomet. Translated from the French Original Written by the Count of Boulainvilliers* (London, 1731).

[123] Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, 568, 570–2; Geraldine Sheridan, *Nicolas Lenglet Dufresnoy and the Literary Underworld of the Ancien Régime. Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 262 (Oxford, 1989), *passim*; Mary Clapinson, 'Rawlinson, Richard (1690–1755)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23192, accessed 28 Sept. 2010].

[124] Sharp, 'Charles Mackie', 37. Cf. EUL, Mackie Papers, La.III.253.

although he did not refer to his old teacher.[125] It became the standard reference guide to chronology in Scottish universities shortly after its appearance. Mackie's efforts as a chronologist paid off in the end.

His world history course followed the two sections on chronology ('*De Varia Ratione Computandi Temporis*') and periodization ('*De Divisione Historicae*'), with a detailed discussion of the Persians, the Egyptians and the Jews, before continuing on to the Greeks and Romans and finally the medieval and early modern history of Europe until the Reformation. Early modern scholars were largely in agreement with ancient writers that in civil history ancient Egypt was the oldest civilization in the world and the very fount of philosophy, astronomy, geometry and mathematics but there remained many puzzles to penetrate before ancient history could even be partially unraveled. Speculation and simple confusion over the earliest history of the world remained rife. Mackie was aware of, and even played a part in, those debates. He also shared his own ideas with his students. Mackie's periodization scheme was relatively modern, more or less secular and was based on the causes of religious, political and social and economic change. For the earlier epochs, he may have followed Bishop Ussher, who used the dispensation of God's grace as his marker, but this is not certain.[126] Unlike his predecessors and colleagues in church history, Mackie left out the role of Providence in his civil and largely political history.[127] Once he arrived at the onset of Western civilization, he divided history into ancient history, biblical and Greco-Roman, the dark ages up to the reign of Charlemagne, the Middle Ages and the modern period, which began with the Renaissance and overseas discoveries and especially the Reformation.[128] Within each period, he tried to establish the chronology of the main political diplomatic and religious events and tended to lecture on the dominating powers as the following example shows:

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[125] John Blair, *The Chronology and History of the World, from the Creation to the Year of Christ, 1753* (London, 1754).

[126] Alan Ford, 'Ussher, James (1581–1656)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct. 2009 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28034, accessed 10 Sept. 2011].

[127] Cf. David Allan, *Virtue, Learning and the Scottish Enlightenment: Ideas of Scholarship in the early Modern History* (Edinburgh, 1993), pp. 53–4.

[128] In the 1747 manuscript, he also included the discovery of America. EUL, Mackie Papers, La.237/563–565.

> Darius was the son of Hystapsis, who was the son of Arcenas who was the Brother of Cambyses who was the Father of Cyrus; it has been greatly controverted among the Learned whither it was Darius Hystapsis who now reigned or Darius Nathus who reigned long after this, that is mentioned in Ezra 6—as the Advancer of the building of the Temple.[129]

In the ancient world he broke down universal history into the history of Persia, Greece or Rome, giving the characteristics, customs and institutions of each people. He was especially taken with the arts and the learned achievements of the different nations he described. He talked about the famous scholars, orators and philosophers of Egypt, Persia, Greece and Rome. The rise of Macedonia, the Carthaginian wars and the invasions of the Goths were presented in the light of the destruction they caused to learning, the arts and the sciences. He paid much less attention to the economic and social aspects of history's peoples although he mentioned things such as the introduction of firearms, the compass and the printing press and even noted when 'silkworms [were] first brought to Europe.'[130] His notebooks contain annotations on population size, on weights and measures and on the advantages of manufacturing and export.[131] Some of this made it into his lectures, but he certainly did not have much more than a passing interest in economics. One of his most famous students was Sir James Steuart, but Mackie cannot be given the credit for the developing of his economic genius.[132] His main concerns were diplomatic and political history and he had a polyhistoric desire to present as many facts and authors as possible. His course was meant to be useful to men who would continue to read but who needed varied contexts for their reading, depending on whether they became leisured gentlemen ministers, lawyers, or other professionals. In other words, it was part of their polite education.

If facts and chronology were the basis for Mackie's historical thinking, the focus of his teaching was on ancient history and the early modern period, in particular the Reformation and the religious wars of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. As he declared in his paper to the Philosophical Society: '…ye history of those ages is full of grand revolutions & many memorable events, ye knowledge of which

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[129] EUL, Mackie Papers, La.III.237/112.
[130] EUL, Mackie Papers, La.III.237.
[131] La.II.96/3; Dc.5.24.
[132] Mackie may have been responsible for Steuart's interest in Newton's chronology.

are highly useful, as having often a connection wit ye times we now live in'.[133] The main event in Mackie's course on universal history was the Reformation, 'when the church was freed from popish tyranny'.[134] It was clearly as much a religious as a political and cultural watershed, and he was keen to point out the detrimental effects of the Church of Rome on European learning, including the writing of history.

Despite Mackie's resolve to stick to the facts, this period is where he showed himself most biased. The dark ages became really dark with the rise of popery and 'monkery' in the sixth century; those had brought 'ignorance and barbarity' as papal demands had encroached upon the rights of free men everywhere.[135] In the 1741 lectures, Mackie's discussion of the Reformation paid considerable attention to the Dutch provinces. The Dutch Revolt against Spain, the creation of the Republic, the Synod of Dordt and the conflict between the Stadholder Maurice (1567–1625) and his Grand Pensionary Van Oldenbarnevelt all received detailed attention and took the course beyond 1516. The text of his lectures is annotated throughout, referring to Burman's lectures.[136] This was probably his course on *historia Patriae*, which Mackie may have preferred to the additional books of Tursellinus' *Continuatio Epitomes Historiae H. Tursellini*, which covered the period 1516–1622.[137] Yet Mackie certainly did not follow Burman and Tursellinus exclusively.

Throughout his lectures, his sources were an eclectic mix and included, aside from the ones highlighted by the *Scots Magazine* and the standard classical authors on history, authors of philosophy and belles letters. He told his students about the latest and best scholarship and made recommendations. He used the most recent works on both ancient and modern history in his teaching, including Stanley's *History of Philosophy* (1701) and Ralph Cudworth's *The True Intellectual System of the Universe* (1678), Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire*,

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[133] EUL, La.II.37/92–104.

[134] La.III.237.

[135] EUL, Mackie Papers, La.III.237/371, 373, 405.

[136] Frequently, Mackie wrote in the margins: 'Burman eas narravit 1717', 'Burman ita metulit hanc hist.', and 'Anno 1717 Burman ita habuit.' EUL, Mackie Papers, La.II.37/301–344.

[137] These were first added in 1622 to a German edition printed in Cologne, well after Tursellinus' death, by the author Henri Spondanus. According to many, they lacked the original's balanced overview of European events and concentrated in particular on the German Holy Roman Empire and its sovereigns.

Rapin's *History of England* (1724), Thomas Salmon's *Modern History* (1724–38) and the old and modern texts on chronology by Calvisius, Ussher, Lenglet Dufresnoy and Newton. He referred to his works on the Persians, Greeks, Egyptians and Muslims. For example, he told his classes that Gaigner's *Life of Mahomet* and Humphrey Prideaux's study of the 'Impostor Prophet' were worthwhile studies but he condemned Henri, Comte de Boulainvilliers as 'purely romance'.[138] He also worked in bits from complete runs of the French and English learned journals.

Like the Dutch, the Scots got special treatment, but, contrary to the traditional Scottish approach of concentrating on Scotland's own (church) history, Mackie saw Scottish historical events in a European context where they often served as examples rather than as the central theme. When talking about antiquity and Europe's early history, his framework was Roman.[139] He paid particular attention to the Romans and the barbarian invasions and presented Scotland in this larger context. The introduction of popery was general and happened in England, well before it happened in Scotland. He painted England as a neighbor with mixed virtues. The development of the English parliament came earlier, as did some liberties under law. He was a staunch Whig and defender of George Buchanan without ever developing a political theory to support his teachings. His different commonplace books and library catalogue show few works on political theory. He was a fervent follower of Livy, but did not show any interest in such Dutch republican historians as P. C. Hooft (1581–1647) or even Grotius.[140]

The 1747 lecture series given in the immediate aftermath of the 1745 series displays a much greater concern with Scotland and her history than the earlier one. Here, Mackie appears to have followed the traditional line on Scotland's earliest history as described in Buchanan's *History*, including the latter's description of the Picts, the story of Scotland's conversion to Christianity and the separate development of Scotland's Church and her unique class of priests, the famously learned Culdees.[141] He was keen to highlight Scotland's independence from both the Romans and from the Pope's Rome. All that now British, not

[138] EUL, La.III.537, Commonplace book, incl an 'index funereus' or chronological list of people deceased, 1737–1749.
[139] Sharp, 'Charles Mackie', 32.
[140] EUL, Dc.5.24, DC.8.51, La.III.785, Lectures on Roman Antiquities.
[141] EUL, Mackie Papers, La.III.237/314–5, 329.

Scottish, liberty was thought by Whigs like him to have been imperiled by the Stuart bid to recover the monarchy. Throughout these lectures, Mackie stressed the importance of the Scottish virtues, freedom and independence, and the flourishing of the arts. Roman walls and other archaeological artifacts were presented as proof that the Scots had always been able to maintain their freedom. Mackie noted that Roman servitude had not extended into Scotland and cited as his warrant Sir John Clerk of Penicuick's manuscript 'An Account of Some Roman Antiquities at Bulness (Bo'ness) in Cumberland'. 'Caledonians were resolved at all hazards to preserve the liberty of their country'. This spirit had continued until this day, and 'indeed in all ages & reigns y^{e} Scots never fail'd of being amongst y^{e} first in y^{e} cause of British liberty'.[142]

His main sources on Scottish history were Bede, Fordun, Bishop Elphinstone (1431–1514), John Spottiswood, and the mainstays of Scottish Presbyterian history such as Hector Boece (1465–1536), David Calderwood, John Major (1469–1550) and Buchanan.[143] He also used the antiquaries of the previous generation: George Mackenzie, Patrick Abercrombie, James Anderson, James Dalrymple, Thomas Innes, Harry Maule, Robert Sibbald and Robert Wodrow, most of whom he could have met. Mackie presented Scotland's history to his students based on the same historians, facts, and Roman artifacts that he noted in his many notebooks, although he was less skeptical of their sources in his teaching than he had been in his Paper to the Philosophical Society.

Mackie's engagement with the debates about chronology and evidence merged with the contemporary continental and Scottish discussions, which centered on the debunking of the myths of Scottish history. He set out his own methodology against that backdrop. As noted above, he may have wanted to publish a revised edition of Lenglet Dufresnoy with his own chronological calculations.[144] Sparked

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[142] EUL, Mackie Papers, Dc.5.24[1]/5–6. Clerk had sent his manuscript to Mackie for consultation on 19 October 1739. Cf. NA 9D18/5050, Mackie to Sir John Clerk on Roman ramparts, walls and ditches, 1 Dec 1739. See also EUL, Mackie Papers, Dc.5.24[1], section XIII.

[143] EUL, Mackie Papers, La.II.37; La.II.237; Dc.5.24; Dc.8.50, Mackie's notes, Dc.8.51.

[144] As a contemporary reviewer wrote, Lenglet had already corrected certain errors once and he may have to do so again. 'Méthode pour étudier l'histoire…', in: in *The Present State of the Republick of Letters*, 4 (July 1729), 24–34.

by the publication of the Jacobite antiquarian Father Thomas Innes's *Critical Essay* in 1729, historians of all persuasions debated the nation's history, as well as Innes's chosen methodology, which was that of the monks of St Maur. Mackie played his part, keen to disprove the myths of Scottish history without replacing them with a new set as he thought Innes had done.[145] His chronological work contributed to that end since he had worked out a table of Scottish kings from Fergus I to Fergus II based on Calvisius, Buchanan and the Leiden edition of Ruddiman's Buchanan.[146] Following his fellow Buchananite Whig, James Anderson, Mackie wrote in his Commonplace book of Scottish history that

> An historian ought not to lay any stress upon authoritys yt are at in ye least liable to inspection, & when that wc he relates tends especially, to ye prejudice of any one's reputation, if he must speak out, he ought to say nothing about good proof wc demands a strict examination of both sides.'[147]

Instead, he ought to 'preserve certainty, order and perspicuity' and to gather the best available sources.[148] Only 'principal occurrences' such as battles and the foundation and subversion of kingdoms could be known with certainty, and even then different authors could have different opinions. Mackie's paper from 1741 was followed by what looks like a draft in which he tried to work out the Fergusian line in response to Innes and Fordun. He wrote 'Chronology fix'd dates & other outward appearences of Hist no incontested proof of y^{e} truth of it…'[149] While he profoundly disagreed with Innes, he saw room for disagreement in debate, an attitude that was typical of the Republic of Letters. As a scholar, Mackie's main objective was always the critical study of history. In the end, he chose to adhere to Buchanan's *History*,

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[145] EUL, Mackie Papers, La.III.537/22–46, Notes on Innes' Critical Essay.

[146] EUL, Mackie Papers, La.II.37/17v-33.

[147] EUL, Mackie Papers, Dc.5.24^{2}/118, Royal Genealogies by Ja. Anderson in 2 parts. Cf. Dc.5.24^{1}/261. William Ferguson has called Anderson's critical appraisal of original sources and use of palaeography and diplomatic documents 'a completely new approach to the study of Scottish history'. Instead, it could be argued that Anderson, like Mackie, was part of the same European tradition as Jean Leclerc. W. Ferguson, 'Introduction', in J. Anderson, *An Historical Essay Shewing that the Crown and Kingdom of Scotland is Imperial and Independent*, Stair Society, 39 (1991), pp. 1–130, 9. Cf. Allan, *Virtue, Learning and the Scottish Enlightenment*, 62–3, Anthony Grafton, *What was History?*

[148] EUL, Mackie Papers, La.II.37/92–104.

[149] EUL, Mackie Papers, La.II.37/107v.

having concluded that Innes' alternative did not hold up to his rules for historical criticism. As a result, he preferred to rectify the errors in Scotland's fabulous history rather than to dismiss it altogether.

It would be easy to dismiss Mackie as an intellectually boring antiquarian, who, like his teacher Burman, worked in the continental polyhistoric tradition, striving for encyclopedic erudition without doing much with it. It is true that he never published anything of note other than a piece in the *Philosophical Transactions* on lightning striking and something on Spanish pox.[150] The paper he read to the Philosophical Society came closest to a serious research publication.[151] Still, he deserves more credit than might appear at first glance. There is no denying, despite his membership in a philosophical society and other interests, that Mackie was more of a seventeenth century polyhistor than an Enlightenment man of letters. But, like the best of the continental polyhistors, he had a vast range of knowledge and interests. Unlike Burman, who was stuck in his humanism and refused to budge from his Latin poetry, Mackie engaged with the new, vernacular material that was produced in the Republic of Letters with great enthusiasm. He embraced the new (French) learning, which transformed the 'Latin-speaking *Respublica litterarum* into a French-speaking *Republique des lettres*', and the New History, which accompanied this process.[152] His much more critical approach towards historical sources was new in a country where the academic discipline of history had meant mainly church history, the sources for which were the Scottish Reformation and Covenanter historians. Mackie's history, as imported from the United Provinces, was quite a radical departure from this, at least for a while. It was universal, secular and vernacular and went beyond what he had learned from his Dutch teachers. The number of modern continental, especially French—he must have known both Bayle's *Nouvelles de la République des Letters* and the *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* inside and out and he was clearly inspired by Lenglet Dufresnoy—and English publications he read is striking and shows a clear departure from his classical training under Burman. He also showed an awareness of and a concern for historical methodology,

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[150] With thanks to Roger Emerson.

[151] Roger L. Emerson, 'The Philosophical Society of Edinburgh 1737–1747', *The British Journal for the History of Science,* vol. 12 no. 41 (1979), 154–191, 175.

[152] Grafton, 'The World of the Polyhistors', 34, 42. Grafton, *What was History?*, 12. In analogy with Descartes' New Philosophy, Jean Leclerc in his *Ars Critica* had called for a New History to replace the classical ideal of the humanist tradition.

unlike many before him. His two main concerns were with the gathering of historical facts, to rid them of error and fable, and then to arrange them in an accurate chronology.[153] The aim of history, according to Mackie, was to be critical and to uncover the truth: '*ne quid veri non audeat*'. He shared a critical, but never overly sceptical, attitude and a concern for authentic sources with Michael Rossal. He stressed the significance of great causes and events, as becomes clear from his lecture notes on universal history.[154] But, unlike Rossal and Perizonius, he had no apparent interest in *politica*. Like Burman, Mackie was still convinced of the importance of history for elegant learning and polite everyday life and he seems not to have seen a higher purpose to it.

Mackie's two main projects, the gathering of knowledge and chronology, came straight from the Republic of Letters.[155] His papers read like a virtual 'private universal library', to use Jonathan Israel's words.[156] This was an ideal to which the older polyhistors of the seventeenth century had also subscribed. His papers are filled with lists and chronological tables drawn from the dictionaries and journals he obtained from the United Provinces.[157] He listed and noted famous authors, poets, playwrights, scholars, Scottish historians, classical historians, members of the University of Paris, *Academia Instituta*, Freethinkers, Cardinals, Roman popes, Roman emperors (from the Western and Eastern Empire), Kings of England, France and Scotland and abbeys in Scotland. He also compiled and gave his classes short biographies of philosophers, historians, scholars and theologians, especially Reformers, and timetables of every part of history covered in his lectures.[158] But these were more than a polyhistoric appetite for knowledge and information. They also show a concern with systematizing and rationalizing history and especially chronology, the debate of the day in the 1720s. Moreover, Mackie was keen to

[153] Mackie set out their importance regarding the study of history but unfortunately never acted upon his own advice. EUL, Mackie Papers, La.II.90/8 and Sharp, 'Charles Mackie', 36.

[154] EUL, La.II.37/7, Lecture, February 1721; La.II.37/2, Lecture, April 1727.

[155] In 1722 Thomas Johnson wrote to Mackie referring to him as 'Professor of Literature', EUL, La.II.91/34, EUL, La.II.90/2/1, Regulations Concerning the Library.

[156] Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, 119.

[157] He also seems to have had interests in librarianship in another way as his proposals for a 'Reformation' of Edinburgh's university library from 1734 show. EUL, La.II.90/2/1, Regulations Concerning the Library.

[158] EUL, Dc.8.50; La.II.37, Papers and notes Charles Mackie.

introduce into Scotland new and modern publications and thus made a contribution to the internationalization of the country's public sphere. To Mackie, Scotland's history seems to have been related to questions of national honor just as were his efforts to determine the dates of Scottish events, especially those showing Scottish independence, valor and learning. The problem of Scotland's earliest history and the challenge posed by its main critic, Father Innes, was a problem of honor and methodology. In post-Union Britain, Mackie tried to find a place for Scotland and her past within the new nation's history and to bring it into the orbit of the European world of learning. He shared his efforts with Thomas Johnson who was concerned with introducing radical and enlightened scholarship into Scotland. When Johnson died, Mackie's aspirations seem to have died with him and he appears to have abandoned his project. At the same time, the European Republic of Letters, as he had known it, was changing, and the old ideals of encyclopedic knowledge were being replaced by those of the Enlightenment. Long before Mackie's death in 1770, the task of Scotland's history and learning had fallen to quite different men: Hume (1711–1776), Robertson, Smith (1723–1790), and many others, none of whom spent much time in Holland although they had learned much from the Dutch.

Mackie's career illustrates the limits of the Republic of Letters as well as his own intellectual limitations. Despite his interests in chronology and attempts at establishing and employing rules for historical judgment, he was unable to see the new critical methods through. His methodology and sources may have been new but he was still a humanist in essence. He did not really move from the conventional interpretations and applications of history, even if he used vernacular and secular sources and questioned the mainstays of Scottish Calvinist history, including Buchanan. He did not follow through the chronology project to its religious implications. Unlike the English clergyman and historian, and his contemporary, Conyers Middleton (1683–1750), who 'took the history of religion out of its insulation and applied to it the criteria of secular history', Mackie never got there.[159] He did not engage with English deism, although he read some of its representatives' works. Despite his close relations with Thomas Johnson,

[159] Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'From Deism to History: Conyers Middleton', in: *Idem*, *History and the Enlightenment*, ed. John Robertson (New Haven & London, 2010), 71–120, 84. With thanks to Roger Emerson for alerting me to this essay.

who was friendly with the likes of Toland and Collins, the deist historical revolution appears to have passed him by. He questioned the accuracy of church historians, but applying Newtonian principles of inductive reasoning from experience to theology, like Middleton, was a step he failed to take. In spite of his modern, and at times, radical interests—Bayle, Lenglet Dufresnoy—Mackie remained a polyhistor too much rooted in the humanist traditions of the seventeenth century, as was the case with Dutch learning in many ways. The days of the United Provinces as the center of the Republic of Letters were well over by the middle of the eighteenth century. Scotland no longer looked towards it as an example, just like Mackie's brief moment as a new type of historian had long been overtaken by the men of the Scottish Enlightenment.

CONCLUSION

Scotland's relationship with the United Provinces must be considered in a wider European context. Scots had been traveling to the Continent since the Middle Ages. The country's extensive trade connections and its inhabitants' migratory movements for economic, military, educational and, after the Reformation, religious reasons made it more outward-looking than its immediate neighbor, England. The Low Countries had been part of the Scots' horizon since the twelfth century, but only in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were three institutions established—the Scottish Staple at Veere, the Scots Brigade and the Scottish Church in Rotterdam—which formalized their relationship and established the infrastructure for a century of Scottish students' and Scotland's Dutch education. The two countries also had a great deal in common culturally. They were part of the same North Sea region and shared common traditions in religion and (Roman) law, and both had a strong adherence to education and learning.[1] While in the middle of the seventeenth century this was more or less a relationship of equals, after the Cromwellian Interregnum and, especially after the Williamite Revolution, this changed.[2] As the Scottish institutions in the United Provinces lost political and economic importance internationally and their status within the Scottish community, the Scottish-Dutch exchanges were replaced by one-way traffic from the United Provinces to Scotland. Traditionally the Scottish community in the United Provinces had been made up of merchants and soldiers. During the period 1660–1688, their numbers were boosted by refugees from the Restoration regime and by students. While the former returned in 1688/9, the latter continued to increase in numbers until the late 1720s. These students would be responsible for changing the nature of the Scottish-Dutch relationship. While trade and the Scots Brigade's service continued, Dutch and other continental intellectual and educational ideas now became the most visible aspects of the links between Scotland and the United Provinces. Students replaced

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[1] L. Heerma van Voss, 'Noordzeecultuur (1500–1800)', in: Roding & Heerma van Voss, *The North Sea and Culture*, 25–48.

[2] Cf. Mijers, 'A Natural Partnership?'.

the institutions as the channels through which these reached Scotland and, over time, they would be responsible for Scotland's (marginal) membership of the European Republic of Letters.

The increase in student numbers towards the late seventeenth century was the result of changes in Scotland's academic and intellectual needs and expectations from an intellectual elite, many of whose members had been educated in the United Provinces. The attempted reforms of the universities in the 1680s and 1690s and William Carstares' successful renewal of the University of Edinburgh in the late 1700s, followed by Glasgow's reform in the mid-1720s and the other Scottish universities, was as much the result of Dutch, and other European examples and ideas, as internal Scottish pressures from the professions and the towns. The call for civic education, which the Scots now began to seek at the Dutch universities, went back over a century but gained new urgency after the Revolution and especially after the Anglo-Scottish Union. Although this cannot be taken as too definite, the period 1688–1707 was something of a watershed. Scottish students in the United Provinces can be divided between those students who went to the United Provinces before the Williamite Revolution and sought specialized knowledge and those who belonged to the post-Revolution generation who were more interested in a broad and polite education. Their changes in interest can be partially traced by looking at who, what and, especially, where students studied. More evidence comes from personal accounts and bookseller and book buying activities, which confirm these trends. The rise of the Dutch universities began with the outbreak of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. Domestic disruption, counter-Reformation and war on the Continent, and personal religious considerations drove Scottish students to Leiden, Franeker and Utrecht. The Restoration exiles substantiated this, with many studying divinity or taking classes to gain specific knowledge, which was not readily available in Scotland. They established close connections with their Dutch co-religionists which translated into intellectual cooperation but which came to an end with their departure. The concerns of the post-Revolution generation can also be tracked by the universities they chose. The waning of Franeker, and especially of Utrecht and the rise of Groningen was indicative here. The Dutch universities' flexibility allowed students to take courses across the faculties. The Scots' Dutch curriculum was often a 'pick and mix' program, which increasingly had law as its basis. In addition, there were anatomical dissections, astronomical demonstrations, sermons, modern and

classical languages and sometimes riding, fencing and mathematics lessons to attend, study and take part in. This was the same type of civic education the members of the Dutch elite took and which was envied and praised by foreign commentators. Politeness and sociability were key for most of the post-Revolution students, who often finished their education with a Grand Tour.

Throughout the period 1650–1750, the Dutch education of the Scottish students underwent a great deal of change but at its heart remained Dutch humanism and the classics. This was the model which Carstares imported to Edinburgh and which the other Scottish universities followed. The philosophy program was the first to be reformed, followed by divinity and law. The medical school was not established until after Carstares' death. All these subjects mimicked their Dutch counterparts in some way, especially the law course, which was inspired by the Dutch Elegant School and the medical school, which owed its existence almost completely to Boerhaave. Attempts to attract teachers from the United Provinces to Scotland failed, but the number of Dutch-educated professors at the Scottish universities in the first half of the eighteenth century is striking, a situation which continued well after Carstares' death. Indeed, as late as 1731 there appears to have been one last, failed, endeavour to attract a Dutch professor. John Mitchell wrote to Charles Mackie from London about a number of new appointments at the University of Edinburgh: '[I] hear […] that my old acquaintance Mr Gronovius from Leyden, is to be your Hebrew Professor…'[3] Mitchell probably referred to the Dutch classicist Abraham Gronovius (1714–1775), librarian of the library of the University of Leiden.[4] The fascination with Dutch learning was clearly not the initiative of a single man. Interest in the Scottish universities spanned the religious and generational divides as the continuity between the concerns of the *virtuosi*, the 1690–5 Visitation and Carstares and the professions and town council show. The expansion of these concerns can in part be attributed to the increase in Scots with a Dutch education. Moreover, the impact of the Dutch education

[3] EUL, La.II 90/31, John Mitchell to Charles Mackie.

[4] Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas. Geschiedenis van de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek 1575–2000* (Leiden, 2001), 130. There is no mention of this in the Papers Illustrative of the History of the University of Edinburgh, EUL, Dc.1.4. According to Roger Emerson, there is no mention of this in the papers on this chair either.

went beyond the reforms of the universities and was felt throughout Scotland's establishment.

The development of the Scottish-Dutch book trade went hand-in-hand with the increase in student numbers. Together, they pulled Scotland into the orbit of the Dutch world of learning, not just education, and the European Republic of Letters. The book trade reflected the changes in the Scottish students' interests in the United Provinces and the social and political changes in Scotland. The end of the exile connection also meant the end of the import of a large number of theological and devotional works, although this never dried up completely. The emphasis now shifted to secular works, compendia and textbooks, and, after 1700, French titles and learned journals. The Scottish-Dutch book trade mirrored the students' choices of university, from devout Utrecht to French Groningen. Humanist Leiden was the mainstay for all students, as were the classics to the book trade. As time went on, the Scottish universities were reformed and tastes changed and the Scots lost their interest in the Dutch and their learning, and the Latin trade was growing stale.

The changing interests of the Scots were also mirrored in their participation in the learned debates. The controversy between Voetians and Cocceians defined the Dutch academic climate throughout the seventeenth and well into the early eighteenth century. In the 1660s and 1670s, a number of exiles had taken part in the theological debates and cooperated actively with Voetius and his circle, yet by the 1690s the majority of the Scottish students had lost interest even though they certainly continued to be aware of the discussions. At the start of the eighteenth century Voetius' pietism and spirituality, which had been so attractive to the Restoration exiles and Scots at home, such as the Covenanter Samuel Rutherford, was starting to give way to the moderate voice of reason. Cartesianism and Newtonianism had proved unstoppable and were absorbed across the curriculum. Scots certainly had been interested in the scholarship and science discussed and published in the United Provinces even before the Williamite Revolution. Natural philosophy in particular was, in John Robertson's words, a 'specialised interest' for a small group of *virtuoso* Scots such as Sibbald, Pitcairne and the Gregories.[5] Dutch law and medicine were also followed closely and readily imported into Scotland, but there

[5] Robertson, *The Case for the Enlightenment*, 137.

was now a further interest in the Dutch and European-wide debates, and French secular publications and, especially, the learned journals became increasingly popular. These sometimes even skirted the ideas of the Radical Enlightenment thinkers. While there is little evidence of Scottish engagement with the Enlightenment of Spinoza and Dutch authors such as Pieter de la Court (1618–1685) and Willem van der Muelen (1659–1739), with the notable exception of Thomas Johnson, Scots did follow the shift towards French scholarship, away from Latin humanism.[6] More generally speaking, Scots changed from having a one-on-one connection with the Dutch based on their mutual Calvinism and with the specific purpose of specialized learning, into consumers of a more general and broad knowledge and a wider interest in the world of learning and the debates of the Republic of Letters, even if these still continued to reach them via Dutch channels.

Most Scots were marginal members of this new Republic, which, unlike its earlier incarnation, was inclusive to an extent, secular and vernacular. But men such as Charles Mackie and Thomas Johnson, and even Robert Wodrow, are evidence that some Scots formed an active part of this. Mackie's intellectual activities and his teaching illustrate this Scottish engagement in practice. He was not unique but was representative of the numerous Scottish students and tutors in the United Provinces and, after his return and subsequent appointment, of a generation of Scottish professors and professionals who introduced their Dutch experiences into Scotland. But more than most, he had a clear and on-going commitment to what he had learned in the United Provinces. He owed his membership of the Republic of Letters to his Dutch connection and his was a full membership: he was a correspondent, a reader, and a contributor. He was also an agent for the book trade and a gatekeeper of his own network. His papers list an impressive number of the latest books and learned journals, which clearly illustrate the shift in interest from Latin to French. He taught history as part of the new polite education Scots could now get at home, but he was also a new type of historian in his own right, at least until the late 1730s. Mackie's engagement with the chronology debate was more than an antiquarian's hobby, although it does show the limits

[6] An awareness of Spinoza and some of the other radicals that many had in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, was not enough to constitute actual engagement, as some have argued.

of his intellectual abilities in comparison with the English Deists but also with Johnson's early Enlightenment interests. He incorporated French and English learning and applied new historical methods to the problem of Scottish history, aiming to disprove its myths.[7] Even if the net results and lack of publications were disappointing, Mackie's engagement says a great deal about how much Scottish learning was ensconced in the Republic of Letters.

His friendship with Thomas Johnson was in many ways the key to the Republic. Personal relations in the Republic of Letters have been described in terms of reciprocity, propriety and obligation. Anne Goldgar, in particular, has stressed the framework of hierarchy in which these were contained and the implications this caused for the different members of the Republic of Letters.[8] Johnson's and Mackie's friendship was certainly one in which reciprocity and purpose prevailed. Their professional relationship was mutually dependent, yet neither was above the other in social status: Mackie's family background and patronage was probably higher than Johnson's, but Johnson's circle was a great deal more impressive than Mackie's. They both held an intermediary position, Johnson as a bookseller and Mackie as his agent. Each had his own network, but, while they shared a common agenda, their objectives were rather different. The bookseller Thomas Johnson was a Republican player of considerable importance: he was a true intermediary to his clients while also making his own contribution to furthering the Republic's ideals and bridging the gap between the Republic of Letters and the Enlightenment by making clear choices in his publications. And his role was also truly international. While Scotland occupied a special place, there must be a similar story for England—the English deists and freethinkers, who convened in his shop, and famous clients such as Joseph Addison and Isaac Newton indicate this—and for the United Provinces. Charles Mackie, on the other hand, mainly acted as a consumer, although, to Johnson at least, he was an agent in his own right, if of much more limited intellectual and geographic importance. His personal and commercial contacts in Scotland and in the United Provinces helped facilitate Johnson's aim to extend his, and, by extension, the entire Republic's network into

[7] EUL, Mackie Papers, La.III.537/22–46, Notes on Innes' Critical Essay.

[8] Goldgar, *Impolite Learning*, 12–54. Cf. Stegeman, *Patronage and Service in the Republic of Letters*.

Scotland, although, unlike his friend's, his activities were limited to Scotland and the United Provinces. His own interests absorbed the new enlightened ideals but Charles Mackie ultimately remained a seventeenth century polyhistor rooted in the humanist tradition unlike his many students who went on to contribute to Scotland's Enlightenment, most famously William Robertson.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the Scottish-Dutch connection had more or less come to a natural end.[9] The mercantile community was fading and, while both the Staple and the Scots Brigade were still in existence, the intellectual traffic between the two countries was starting to dry up. The student presence had fallen to negligible numbers although the Dutch universities remained part of the itinerary of the Scots' Grand Tour. Books were still imported from the United Provinces but there was no longer a Dutch monopoly on either the production or the distribution of books and learned journals. At the same time, Scotland's position within this partnership as well as within the learned world was beginning to change radically. As the Enlightenment took off, Scotland surpassed its old teacher. It has often been suggested, or at least implied, that the Scottish Enlightenment had its roots in Scotland's close relations with the United Provinces. It may never be possible to uncover this exact debt but we are now able to identify the different strands of the Scottish-Dutch relationship which preceded it, namely the development of the Scottish student numbers, the curriculum they followed at the Dutch universities and the different interests they developed, sometimes as a result of, sometimes in tandem with, the impact of the Scots' Dutch education on their own universities and on the book trade, and the way they performed within the wider context of the Republic of Letters in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, as consumers of knowledge and sometimes even as participants.

[9] This was arguably later than elsewhere. It has been suggested that student mobility came to an end towards the end of the seventeenth century as a result of the French wars. Scottish students clearly bucked this trend. Cf. De Ridder Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 437.

APPENDIX

Scottish Students at Dutch Universities, 1650–1750[1]

Matriculated students	Leiden	Utrecht	Groningen	Franeker	Total
1650–1660	60	5	1	1	67
1661–1670	75	3	1	2	81
1671–1680	138	4	0	11	153
1681–1690	179	21	0	13	213
1691–1700	172	36	1	5	214
1701–1710	135	36	6	0	177
1711–1720	179	7	3	2	191
1721–1730	202	8	17	5	232
1731–1740	130	0	22	0	152
1741–1750	43	1	1	0	45
Total	1313	121	52	39	1525

Leiden	Students	Graduates
1650–1660	57	3
1661–1670	70	5
1671–1680	131	7
1681–1690	173	6
1691–1700	164	8
1701–1710	132	3
1711–1720	177	2
1721–1730	196	6
1731–1740	126	4
1741–1750	39	4

[1] Based on *Album Scholasticum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae*, Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot Leidsche Universiteit*, *Album Studiosorum Academiae Rheno-Trajectina*, *Album Promotorum Academiae Rheno-Trajectina*, *Album Studiosorum Academiae Franekerensis*, *Album Promotorum Academiae Franekerensis*, *Album Studiosorum Academiae Groninganae*, *Album Studiosorum Academiae Groninganae.*

Utrecht	Students	Graduates
1650–1660	5	–
1661–1670	3	–
1671–1680	4	–
1681–1690	16	5
1691–1700	30	6
1701–1710	27	19
1711–1720	5	2
1721–1730	6	2
1731–1740	–	–
1741–1750	1	–

Franeker	Students
1650–1660	1
1661–1670	2
1671–1680	11
1681–1690	13
1691–1700	5
1701–1710	–
1711–1720	2
1721–1730	5
1731–1740	–
1741–1750	–

Groningen	Students	Graduates
1650–1660	–	1
1661–1670	1	–
1671–1680	–	–
1681–1690	–	–
1691–1700	1	–
1701–1710	6	–
1711–1720	3	–
1721–1730	17	–
1731–1740	22	–
1741–1750	1	–

Leiden *students*	Law	Med.	Divinity	Phil.	Math.	Misc.
1650–1660	22	8	5	5	4	13
1661–1670	34	23	7	3	–	3
1671–1675	36	19	1	4	–	–
1676–1680	38	25	2	1	4	1
1681–1685	43	16	2	2	–	1
1686–1690	51	40	3	9	–	6
1691–1695	44	22	2	1	–	1
1696–1700	59	23	8	1	–	3
1701–1705	34	23	7	1	–	1
1706–1710	29	26	5	–	–	6
1711–1715	45	23	7	–	–	1
1716–1720	34	53	9	1	–	4
1721–1725	37	40	9	–	3	4
1726–1730	47	36	12	–	–	8
1731–1740	60	47	15	–	1	3
1741–1750	11	19	8	–	–	1

Leiden *graduates*	Law	Med.	Phil.	Unknown
1650–1660	–	2	1	–
1661–1670	–	5	–	–
1671–1675	1	3	–	–
1676–1680	1	2	–	–
1681–1685	–	2	–	–
1686–1690	–	4	–	–
1691–1695	–	8	–	–
1696–1700	–	–	–	–
1701–1705	–	1	–	–
1706–1710	–	2	–	–
1711–1715	–	1	–	–
1716–1720	–	1	–	–
1721–1725	1	2	–	–
1726–1730	–	3	–	–
1731–1740	–	3	–	1
1741–1750	–	4	1	–

Utrecht *graduates*	Med.
1650–1660	–
1661–1670	–
1671–1680	–
1681–1690	5
1691–1700	6
1701–1710	19
1711–1720	2
1721–1730	2
1731–1740	–
1741–1750	–

Franeker *students*	Law	Divinity
1650–1660	–	1
1661–1670	2	–
1671–1680	10	–
1681–1690	4	2
1691–1700	1	–
1701–1710	–	–
1711–1720	1	–
1721–1730	–	–
1731–1740	–	–
1741–1750	–	–

Groningen *students*	Law	Divinity	Math.	Misc.
1650–1660	–	–	–	–
1661–1670	–	1	–	–
1671–1680	–	–	–	–
1681–1690	–	–	–	–
1691–1700	–	–	–	1
1701–1710	4	–	–	2
1711–1720	1	–	–	2
1721–1730	6	1	–	10
1731–1740	7	–	1	14
1741–1750	–	–	–	1

Groningen *graduates*	Med.
1650–1660	1

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